



**Pablo Escobar**

**Benicio Del Toro plays the murderous cocaine king**

17.07.2015

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# Newsweek

17.07.2015 NO.29



**Why Greece is still in black and white**  
Made proud and paranoid by history ancient and modern, the Greeks are living in a state that cannot ever start anew  
by **Adam LeBor**

30



**The new Eastern Bloc**  
India set to join Russia and China as a new power rises in the East  
by **Andy Davis**

38

**Brain dead**  
Nobel laureate Mario Vargas Llosa argues that we can no longer tell the difference between Shakira (below) and Thomas Mann  
by **Frances Wilson**

62



**Norway church probe**

The Bishop of Oslo could face jail for allegedly inflating the number of Catholics to get state funding

by **Conor Gaffey**

18

**Interview: Is a prawn capable of sin?**

Animal rights theologian the Revd Andrew Linzey sees a paradigm shift: we no longer think of creatures as commodities

by **Robert Chalmers**

28

**Essay: The cultural change of the century**

The 'energy debate' is a revolution in what we think about everything

by **Barry Lord**

46

## Big Shots

6 **Pictures of the week**

## Page One

- 14 **Middle East: talking to Isis**
- 16 **Finland: divided loyalties**
- 18 **Norway: guilty Catholics**
- 19 **China: money floods abroad**
- 20 **Germany: hacker "Hell" trial**
- 21 **Britain: child abuse row**
- 22 **Spain: against tourism**
- 23 **Tech: human-cell microchips**
- 24 **Politics: Adam LeBor**
- 28 **Face to face: Andrew Linzey**

## Business

- 25 **America: BP's tax break**
- 27 **Greece: Bitcoin takes off**
- 27 **Solar power: Rory Ross**

## Features

- 30 **Greece is living in the past**
- 38 **The new Eastern bloc**
- 46 **Newsweek Essay**

## Weekend

- 54 **Travel: genuine Japan**
- 56 **Travel: New York, New York**
- 57 **Film: Escobar**
- 58 **Kit: explorer's boots**
- 59 **Art: Sonia Delaunay**
- 60 **Collecting: flag sales flag**
- 62 **Books: the death of culture**
- 63 **Books: West Bank music**
- 64 **Fashion: running in heels**
- 65 **Culture: a modern prophet**
- 66 **My Weekend: François Tajan**
- 66 **News weeks past**

## Editor's letter

### Advice to a would-be journalist



**Richard Addis**  
editor@newsweek.com

Yes. Do it. Journalists are the best of people. Working in a branch of showbiz makes us more resilient and comradely than any other profession except actors. Editors, designers, photographers, subs and writers live off our wits. This keeps us insecure, modest and quick to laughter. Curiosity may kill cats but it keeps humans youthful. The job matters more than ever. As globalisation and urbanisation gather pace, the world is becoming more complex. We

need good journalists to explain. There is paid work. There are even fortunes to be made. You don't have to be a press baron to start a title. The mainstream shrinks but the upstarts hire. And the commercial sector pays journalists to fuel websites, blogs and social media.

To get a job, follow these 10 commandments:

- 1) Work harder. Who needs to sleep?
- 2) Read one good book a month.
- 3) Be idealistic. Ideals don't

have to be achieved to be worthwhile.

- 4) Buy one serious paper a day. Don't think you can't afford it.
- 5) Read it first thing. Otherwise you never will.
- 6) Follow five commentators. Never miss anything they write.
- 7) Find someone to have one good conversation with each day.
- 8) Be a serious drinker. Alcohol is a gift.
- 9) Play a sport. Sport is the biggest subject in the world.
- 10) Be obsessive. It's a great way to learn.



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### Awards 2015

**BSME Rising Stars: Best Original Feature Idea and Best Print Writer (highly commended)**



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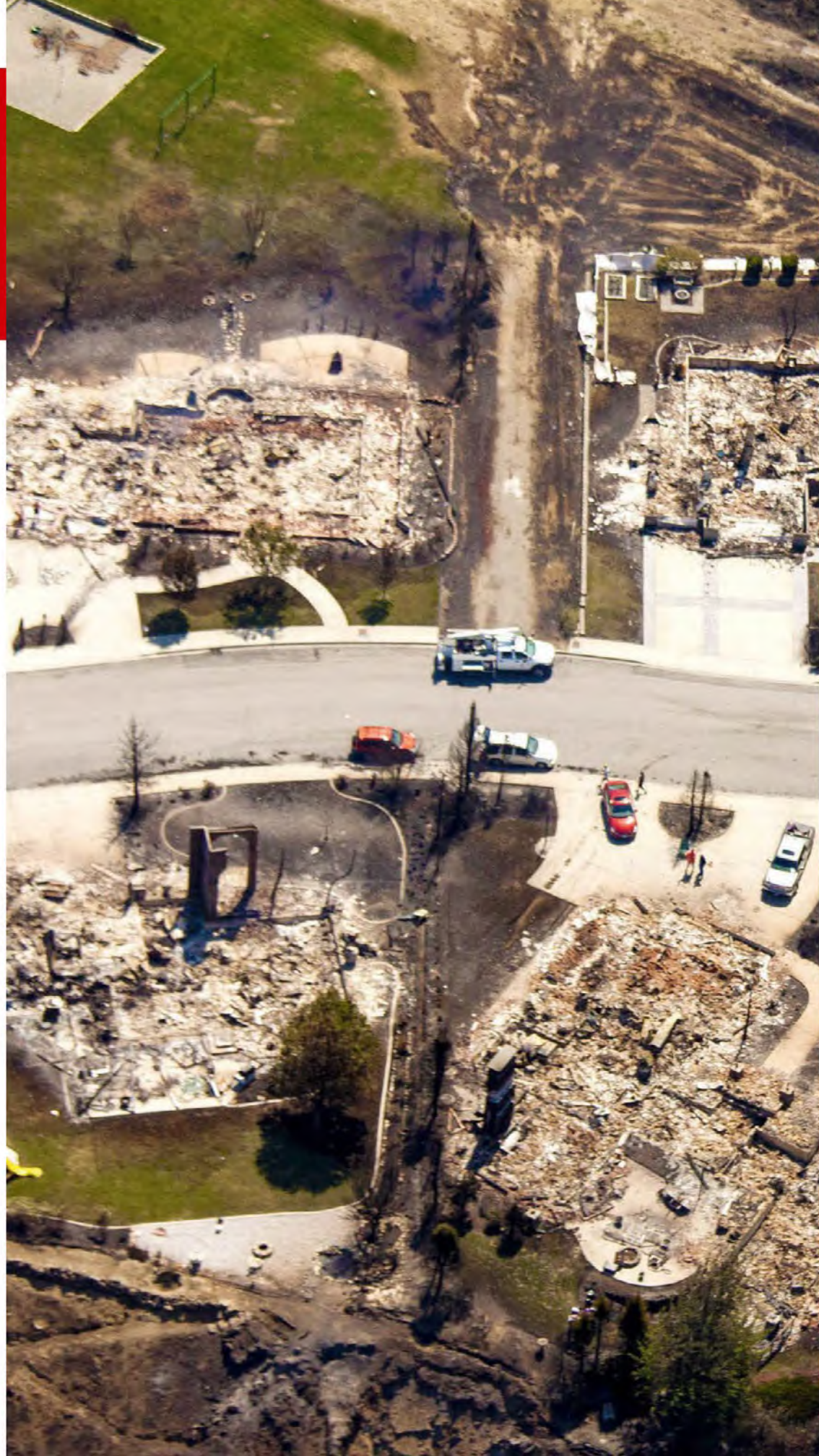
# Big shots

USA

## Home fires burning out

A wildfire burning unchecked in Washington state has destroyed at least 23 homes and three commercial buildings near the eastern foothills of the Cascades, according to state police and emergency services. Homes destroyed by the Sleepy Hollow fire are pictured here in Wenatchee, Washington.

Photograph: David Ryder/Corbis















Hawaii

## Flying into a new dawn

Solar Impulse 2 with André Borschberg on the controls is about to land on Kalaeloa Airport after being airborne for five consecutive days. Bot the distance covered and the time spent in the air – 118 hours – are records for manned solar-powered flight. The duration is also an absolute record for a solo, un-refuelled journey.

**Photograph: Solar Impulse/Revillard/Rezo.ch**

Big  
shots



England

## Dummy run for disaster

At London's disused Aldwych Tube station, members of the emergency services take part in Operation Strong Tower. The two-day counter-terrorism exercise involved more than 1,000 police, fire and ambulance personnel across the capital.

Photograph: Rob Stothard/Getty

Big  
shots















Switzerland

## Human tadpoles

People swim en masse during the annual public crossing of Lake Zurich. Participants in the Zurich swimming event traverse the lake over a distance of 1,500 metres.

**Photograph: Arnd Wiegmann/Corbis**

Big  
shots



## World

# Northern Ireland peace broker: we should – and secretly do – negotiate with terrorists

**Fredrik Elisson and  
Janine di Giovanni London**

@janinedigi

It was a petty gesture, a stubborn mistake he still regrets. In 1997, after years of bickering and violence in Northern Ireland, British Prime Minister Tony Blair and his chief of staff, Jonathan Powell, met with leaders of the Irish Republican Army about a possible peace agreement. But when Powell sat down with his counterparts in the IRA – a group that shot and wounded his father and threatened to kill his brother – he refused to shake their hands.

A year later, the British and the IRA signed the Good Friday Agreement, ending the bitter conflict. Today, Powell, one of the deal's main architects, looks back on it as his most difficult challenge and his most satisfying achievement. Speaking to *Newsweek* in his office in London, the 58-year-old says he once favoured big sticks over speaking softly. But his experience with the IRA convinced him that opening a dialogue with terrorist groups is critical to defeating them, or at least to resolving conflicts.

As he wrote in his book, *Terrorists at the Table: Why Negotiating Is the Only Way to Peace*, Powell argues that the West, led by the USA, won't defeat terrorist organisations

with significant popular support by force alone, even if it resorts to brutal and unscrupulous measures. That goes for nationalist groups like the IRA as well as religious extremists like Isis and al-Qaida. "Each time we meet a new terrorist group, we say they are different and that we are never going to talk to them," Powell says. "[But] anyone who thinks a bombing campaign alone can degrade and destroy Isis is wrong. The sensible thing to do is to open a channel ... so we can better understand each other."

Today, the West is embroiled in a seemingly endless war against extremists. And while Nato pulled its combat troops out of Afghanistan in 2014, it's still trying to help the government in Kabul find a peaceful end to the war against

the Taliban. In other words, the insights Powell offers have perhaps never been more relevant. "The problem is not talking to terrorists," he writes, "it is giving in to them. They are not the same thing."

For decades, America's official policy has been to destroy terrorist organisations, not sit down with them and talk. President Ronald Reagan forged this policy in the early 1980s, not long after Iranian students stormed the US Embassy in Tehran, taking 52 Americans hostage. "I believe it is high time that the civilised countries of the world made it plain that there is no room worldwide for terrorism," Reagan said during a 1980 presidential debate with Jimmy Carter. "There will be no negotiation with terrorists of any kind."

Yet behind the scenes, the US government has negotiated with terrorist groups. In the mid-1980s, the Reagan administration secretly sold weapons to Iran, violating an arms embargo, in hopes of freeing hostages in Lebanon held by a group with connections to Tehran. In the early 1990s, President George H W Bush's White House negotiated with Hezbollah to release American hostages in Lebanon. Years later, President Bill Clinton sent diplomats to talk to the Taliban and personally met with the leader of Sinn Féin, the political arm of the IRA. In 2002, not long after the "war on terror" began, George W Bush's administration organised an indirect payment of \$300,000 for the release of two American missionaries held by Abu Sayyaf, an Islamist group in the Philippines.

Critics have long decried this policy, saying it creates confusion. In 2014, after Isis kidnapped several Americans in Syria, the White House declined to pay ransom. It also told the families of the hostages that US law barred them from negotiating with the terrorists. At the same time, the administration negotiated with the Taliban via Qatari intermediaries to free Army Sergeant Bowe Bergdahl in 2014.

Some advocate a harder line,



IRA at No 10: Martin McGuinness (left) and Gerry Adams (right) in 1997





Today's enemy: an Isis suicide car bomb explodes in the centre of Syrian city Kobani. "We need to start to understand them," says Jonathan Powell

fearing that talk and negotiation legitimise violent fanatics. "It's naive and dangerous to believe you can open a dialogue with Middle Eastern terrorist groups like Hamas, Isis or Hezbollah," says Nitsana Darshan-Leitner, head of the Shurat HaDin Israel Law Centre, a civil rights organisation. "In this region of the world, any act of political accommodation is perceived as weakness and just spurs on more extremist violence."

Powell, however, says it's naive to rely on force alone to defeat terrorism. He points to the 1980s, when Hafez Assad, the father of Syrian strongman Bashar Assad, crushed a rebellion by Syria's Sunni Muslim Brotherhood in the city of Hama. The elder Assad ringed the city with tanks and artillery and flattened it, killing tens of thousands of people. For all his brutality, however, Assad only temporarily buried the conflict. For years, bitterness stewed under the surface, erupting in the Arab Spring protests in 2011.

Today, as the country's civil war enters its fifth year, the fighting has killed more than 230,000 people and displaced millions.

"Negotiating with terrorists is not a question of forgiving or forgetting the past," Powell writes. "Holding a pragmatic position of the future [puts] the cessation of bloodshed as the highest priority."

Just talking to terrorists, however, is as ineffective as trying to blast them all to smithereens, Powell says. Having left government, he now runs Inter Mediate, a nongovernmental organisation that works to moderate conflicts. He won't say exactly which conflicts he's trying to resolve, but he still considers force a critical part of fighting terrorists and bringing them to the negotiating table.

"I wouldn't talk to [Isis] about a caliphate, about what they are demanding," he says. "But... we need to start to understand them. Someone needs to go there and sit down with them to discuss: how do

you view the treatment of Sunnis in Iraq and Syria?"

But Vali Nasr, dean at Johns Hopkins University, says that these kind of insurgent groups are not always ready to talk. "Isis is on the rise. It's triumphant. [The group] has to be humiliated before it will be prepared to settle for less than it thinks it can gain by fighting."

Yet in the long term, Powell and others say, no group remains completely intransigent. "Not talking to people whom we designate as terrorists is a way of depriving ourselves of information about them, and ensuring we confirm our own pre-existing biases," says Barnett Rubin, a former US State Department official.

What's key, Powell says, is trust and timing. Historically, he argues, the distance between Washington's official and unofficial policies has been a hindrance to both. In 2004 al-Qaida in Iraq rallied disgruntled Sunnis against the US occupation. The group used suicide bombers and explosive

devices to attack Shia and American troops. The US apparently didn't negotiate with the group's leader, Abu Musab Zarqawi, but it did make deals with Sunni tribes who initially supported the insurgency but grew tired of al-Qaida brutality. This effort, known as the Sunni Awakening, helped drive Zarqawi's group out of the country.

Last month, Barack Obama said the US won't make concessions to terrorist groups but is willing to talk to them. The government, he added, won't prosecute the families of captives who are trying to do the same. For Powell, that means if the West hasn't already started talking to Isis and al-Qaida, sooner or later it probably will. As Hugh Gaitskill, the former British Labour Party leader, once put it: "All terrorists, at the invitation of the government, end up with drinks in the Dorchester."

*With Jonathan Broder in Washington, D.C.*



Finland

# Finns increasingly fear Fifth Column of ethnic Russians conscripted into military

**Elisabeth Braw** Helsinki

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Like most of his friends in Finland, Vadim works, likes heavy metal and has completed his military service. What sets him apart from most of his peers, however, is his citizenship status: he's both Russian and Finnish. Since Finland passed a law permitting dual citizenship 12 years ago, more than 24,000 Russians have acquired Finnish passports and kept their Russian ones.

Hundreds are required to serve in both militaries, but these days, few want to talk about it. (Vadim, like others interviewed for this story, asked

me not to use his real name.) In recent years, some Finnish lawmakers and military officials have grown wary of dual citizens serving in the military. And the country's citizenship law, once popular, has become controversial.

"We thought that granting citizenship was an easy step," says Markku Kivinen, a professor of sociology and director of the Finnish Centre for Russian and East European Studies at the University of Helsinki. "But it's not."

Under ordinary circumstances the presence of Finnish-Russians in the military wouldn't be a national security concern. The US Army, for

instance, relies on many immigrants to fill its ranks.

But these are tense times for the Baltic nations as, over the past few years, Moscow has increased its military presence in the region. Latvia, for example, has seen more than 50 Russian near-incursions into its airspace this year, along with roughly 20 approaches by naval vessels, including submarines. Last year, five Russian military planes crossed into Finnish airspace, compared with only one in 2004.

And earlier this year, Sweden's domestic intelligence agency, Säpo, warned that Russian military intelligence

has been trying to recruit agents and is "interested in" the Swedish police and military.

This isn't Finland's first experience with Russian incursions. After defeating Sweden in 1809, Moscow ruled modern-day Finland for 108 years. Sinebrychoff, Finland's leading brewery, was founded by two Russian brothers three centuries ago. And former Finnish leader Carl Gustaf Mannerheim, an ethnic Swede considered by many to be the country's foremost war hero, once served in the Russian army too.

Over the past decade, however, Russian immigration has increased dramatically in



Military manoeuvres: Finnish soldiers on exercise in Latvia last month. As tensions with Moscow grow, so do doubts about divided loyalties



Finland as newcomers have come looking for a better life. Each year, some 2,000 Russians choose to settle in the country, and about the same number become Finnish citizens. The influx makes Russians Finland's second-largest immigrant group, behind Estonians and ahead of Swedes.

Until recently, most Finns viewed Russian immigration as a good thing, especially since many of those crossing the border were doctors and other high-earning professionals. Two years ago, Finnish decision-makers were even considering dropping the country's visa requirement for Russians.

But as Moscow's military has made increasingly aggressive incursions, and more low-income Russians have crossed the border, the situation has changed. Last summer, Finnish President Sauli Niinistö said the current situation warrants a closer look at Finland's dual-citizenship rules. And former Interior Minister Päivi Räsänen has voiced concerns about Russian plans to keep an eye on its citizens abroad.

"The question we're facing is also what happens to the second generation, the teenagers growing up in Finland," says Kivinen. "Russian immigrants face big challenges on the labour market and feel humiliated by their experience here."

A young immigrant struggling to find a better life - or watching his parents do so - doesn't necessarily become a disloyal citizen. And many Finns seem to understand that. Julia Tamminen, who's lived in Finland since 1999, says she's had only positive experiences in her adopted country. "I've never encountered any mistrust or discrimination towards me as a Russian citizen. Quite the opposite. People have always been very nice to me."

Likewise, one young Finnish officer and recent conscript (who was unwilling to be quoted by name) expresses confidence in the allegiance of

Russian-Finnish soldiers. "Our dual citizens have lived here for a long time," he says.

"Some of the dual citizens I know visit Russia from time to time, and they know that things are much better here, so I'm sure they believe that Finland is worth defending."

But some Finns still fear that a small minority of Russians may knowingly or unknowingly harm their new home country. And when it comes to ethnic Russians, there's the looming spectre of their conscription duties in Russia, the Kremlin's monitoring of its citizens abroad and Moscow's attempts to recruit spies.

Indeed, some Finns worry that while ethnic Russians may have no bad intentions, the Kremlin may try to take advantage of them.

"We're aware that some of our conscripts have also done military service in Russia, or will do so," says a high-ranking Finnish defence official, who declined to be identified due to the issue's sensitivity. "That's something we have to take account of in our planning. It's all a question of common sense and risk management."

Though the official declined to give details of the military's plans, he says conscripts rarely get access to classified information. But the Finnish military, he adds, is also careful not to limit Russian conscripts to particular duties just because they hold dual citizenship. "We're a democratic nation," the official says. "Each citizen is equal, and that applies to the armed forces as well."

Russia's defence attaché in Finland and Finland's Swedish-Russian association did not respond to requests for comment. The new Helsinki office of the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, the Kremlin's in-house think tank, also could not be reached for comment.

As for Vadim, he never realised he was a cause for concern. In fact, he says he thoroughly enjoyed his military service.



## Standstill

Lorries queue up outside Dover as part of Operation Stack, implemented to prevent total gridlock in the county of Kent's road network. French ferry workers blockaded the port of Calais in a protest over job cuts, halting Channel crossings. Kent County Council arranged for water to be made available to truck drivers.

## Two Numbers

€8,470

Average net income of a single Greek citizen without children. (Eurostat, 2014)

€22,153

The amount of national debt owed by every Greek citizen. (Reuters, World Bank, 2014)



Norway

# Oslo bishop could face six years in jail after Catholic Church 'defrauds state of €5.7m'

Conor Gaffey London

✉ @ConorGaffey

The Catholic Church in Norway stands accused of defrauding the state of €5.7m by inflating membership numbers and could see its leading bishop given a six-year prison sentence.

The Norwegian Catholic Church is accused of bumping up membership numbers by as much as 65,000 - almost half the official total - in order to receive greater state subsidies, an Oslo police spokesperson tells *Newsweek*.

Norwegian police are investigating Bernt Ivar Eidsvig, the Bishop of Oslo, along with the financial manager of Oslo diocese and the diocese itself, with gross economic fraud of up to 50m Norwegian krone (€5.7m). The government body that distributes state funds to religious institutions is claiming back the alleged over-payment and has now rejected an explanatory report the church put forward in March.

Lisa Wade, a spokesperson for the Roman Catholic diocese of Oslo, told *Newsweek* that Bishop Eidsvig would not be resigning and had the full support of Rome.

"He's in constant dialogue



Defiant: Bishop Eidsvig will not be resigning and has Rome's full support

with the Vatican but since we believe we have not done anything illegal and we have the support of the Vatican, he will not step down until anything changes in the case," said Wade.

However, Wade admits that improper methods were used to calculate the number of Catholics in Norway, particularly in regard to Catholic Polish immigrants. Some church employees automatically registered as Catholic any Polish names they found in the phonebook, a practice Wade says was promptly stopped

when it was discovered last October. Wade says that the church has struggled under the weight of an influx of Catholic immigrants who have come to Norway and practised their religion but failed to register with the church.

"It's not like being part of a golf club. When people come from abroad and they are Catholic, they just start going to mass and they don't think about registering because no other countries have this solution," says Wade. She says Norway is the only European country where subsidies granted to the

church are dependent on its membership numbers.

In a recently published video, Bishop Eidsvig claimed that the number of Catholics in Oslo diocese had tripled to 120,000 between 2004 and 2012, and that 50% of the country's Catholic population are Polish immigrants. The country's official statistics body put the number of Roman Catholics at 140,109 as of 1 January 2014.

Kristin Rusdal, the Oslo police spokesperson, tells *Newsweek* the police hope to have enough evidence to bring a prosecution by the end of the year.

"If we find that their knowledge and responsibility in this is so that there is enough to charge them after the investigation and put forward an indictment, then it would end up in court and the sentencing frame for this is six years in prison. It probably wouldn't be that high but that's the maximum," says Rusdal.

The Catholic Church in Norway has faced scrutiny before. In 2010, the Norwegian church and the Vatican admitted that a former Norwegian bishop had resigned after he was discovered to have abused an altar boy two decades earlier.

## Perspectives

### Greece

**The number of people selling sexual services in Greece has risen by 150% since the start of the country's financial crisis,** according to the Greek Centre for Social Sciences and Panteion University. The study found that only a handful of brothels are operating lawfully.

### France

**Paris councillors have vowed to block McDonald's plans to open a three-storey restaurant in the heart of the historic Montorgueil area.** McDonald's has pointed out that a Belgian burger chain and coffee giant Starbucks already operate on the renowned Rue de Montorgueil.

### Austria

**A 58-year-old Austrian man has been given a 10 month suspended sentence after appearing in a documentary that revealed his basement to be full of Nazi memorabilia.** He was found guilty on two counts of breaking the Prohibition Act, which aims to suppress all forms of neo-Nazism.

### Denmark

**A Danish firm that operates most of the country's buses has been flooded with complaints after the vehicles promoted a local strip club, Mirage, with an advert that pictured a nude woman from behind.** The ads - captioned "Real men meet at Mirage" - are to be removed.



## Red rags

Anti-bullfighting activists and sympathisers from animal rights organisations protest against the running of the bulls in the Spanish city of Pamplona. The activists gathered outside the bullring during the annual celebration of the Fiesta de San Fermin



## Economics

# The trillion-dollar question: where in the world will China's savers invest?

Bill Powell Shanghai

✉@billasia2000

For nearly a year, Zhou Liangjun watched the Shanghai Stock Index soar. So early last month, the young marketing executive took half his savings and plunked it into stocks on the Shanghai exchange.

His timing couldn't have been worse. Though China's market is still up 30% year-on-year, it has fallen dramatically this summer. In 10 trading days to 26 June, the market lost a fifth of its value. Two years ago, Zhou bought a flat and has seen its value modestly decline. Now he wonders what to do with what's left of his savings. "Maybe I should invest abroad," he says. "Maybe I can buy a house in the US. Maybe I should buy stocks there, too. I don't know."

For Chinese citizens, and investors across the globe, that's the trillion-dollar question. Households in China have 8.8trn renminbi, the equivalent of \$1.4trn, in savings. And once they start investing abroad, the impact on global markets - everything from housing to stocks and bonds - will be huge.

Property and stocks are the

most common ways Chinese save. Chinese investors have also been looking to foreign property markets to stash their money, and the current market turmoil at home will only intensify that interest.

According to the National Association of Realtors in the United States, the Chinese have just become the largest foreign purchasers of residential property in the United States, accounting for 16% of all foreign purchases in the quarter ending 31 March. Meanwhile Beijing is preparing to launch a pilot programme later this year that would allow individuals in six of the country's wealthiest cities to invest in stocks, bonds and property abroad.

With so much money in household savings, significant Chinese investment overseas could set off a financial exodus - one that could destabilise the country's own economy. The International Monetary Fund (IMF) has warned that the rapid liberalisation of capital flow into and out of China could produce net outflow equal to as much as 15% of the country's GDP, or roughly \$1.35trn.

A massive number of households investing abroad is

only one part of a potential surge of Chinese money moving overseas. Chinese companies - state-owned and private - are more aggressively pursuing foreign investment projects, which have been dominated by energy and natural resource deals. That's about to change in a major way, as Chinese firms try to diversify their foreign holdings.

A surge in Chinese corporate investment abroad will likely be controversial. In the 1990s, Japanese purchases of US assets - from movie studios to high-profile real estate - created a firestorm. Reciprocity - they can buy us, but we can't buy them - was a huge issue. It will be a far bigger issue as China gets into the same game, because entire sectors of Beijing's economy, dominated by state-owned companies, are off-limits to foreign investors.

A recent report by the Rhodium Group, a New York-based consultancy, and Berlin's Mercator Institute for China Studies says Chinese foreign direct investment is going to grow from \$6.4trn in assets to \$20trn by 2020. That could elicit an unprecedented backlash across the globe.

## If I ruled the world



## Sir Ranulph Fiennes

is a British adventurer and explorer who has broken several endurance records. He is currently raising money for Marie Curie after completing the Marathon des Sables ultra-marathon in the Saharan Desert, which saw him run 251km over six days in 50°C.

### One law I would pass?

In the UK, laws to discourage all litter bugs.

### Who I'd ennoble?

Whoever can put a stop to the maltreatment of the Rohingyas in Burma. Which I would have thought would have been that good lady Aung San Suu Kyi but she hasn't seemed able to do it.

### One thing I would ban?

I would ban, on a global scale, poverty and cruelty.

### Who I'd send to Siberia?

Mr Putin, for upsetting the peace process and energetically gearing up the war process and announcing an extra 100 nuclear bombs.

### Where I'd build my palace?

The ideal place would be in Cape Town. I was brought up there and very much like it.

### Compulsory book to read?

If it was just before adolescence then it would be *Oliver Twist* by Charles Dickens. It's got all the things for children of the right age: I was about that age when I first saw it and it would remain with them like it has with me.



Germany

# Alleged Russian stooge goes on trial for hacking opposition leaders

Aleksandr Gorbachev

In late June, a nondescript 41-year-old Russian first entered a courtroom in Bonn, Germany. Numerous reporters were there, most of them Russians, eager to finally see Sergei Maksimov, the man who allegedly had been terrorising the Russian blogosphere for years - possibly at the Kremlin's behest.

The prosecution contends that Maksimov is hacker Hell, a cybercriminal who, since the late 2000s, has been breaking into email and LiveJournal accounts belonging to prominent Russian bloggers and opposition activists. After getting access to a blog, Hell would usually delete its contents and write posts in deliberately faulty Russian full of obscene language and anti-Semitic and homophobic remarks. He also maintained a personal blog, "Virtual Inquisition", where he celebrated his achievements.

Hell made a lot of enemies

over the years. He hacked popular bloggers and politicians, publicists and writers, and twice hacked the email and Twitter accounts of Russian opposition leader Alexei Navalny. Eventually, those enemies caught up with him. Two journalists who had been targeted by Hell vowed to find out who he was.

Having pieced together various hints that Hell left in his posts, they concluded that Hell was Maksimov, a Russian who moved to Germany in 1997. In 2012, Navalny hired a German lawyer who persuaded the local police to investigate Maksimov.

When police agents came to Maksimov's house with a search warrant at the end of 2013, they found a notebook signed with the name "Hell" and a document called "Gospel According to Hell". After inspecting his hard drive, they discovered thousands of emails written by Navalny and his wife. They also found that Maksimov had access to an email address

that used the name Hell.

Maksimov has been charged with counterfeit, harassment and data theft. He denies the charges, claiming to have been mistaken for the real Hell. The maximum sentence he could receive is three years in prison.

As Hell's targets were mostly opposition bloggers and liberal politicians, some commentators think he was a tool of Russian President Vladimir Putin. When he broke into Navalny's email and Twitter account for the second time, in June 2012, the hack came days after the politician's laptop and mobile phone were confiscated by law enforcement officers during a search. Some of the facts mentioned in the emails published by Hell were later raised in lawsuits that Russian law enforcement brought against Navalny. Hell gave several interviews to pro-government publications, stating he had acted on his own and wanted to prove Navalny was "a fraud".

"The Russian state is

endlessly building itself up, and it strengthens not its schools and hospitals but the institutions that fight the enemies they made up themselves," says Anton Nossik, a Russian internet pioneer and one of the top industry experts.

He says the Federal Security Service, FSB, the main successor to the KGB, is known for using the tools of cybercrime to attack the opposition. "One of their methods is just to pass the stuff that they obtained themselves to a dummy who then claims that he got it by hacking someone." Nossik thinks that Hell was one such dummy and did most of his hacks with information he received from the government.

In Bonn, Maksimov told the judge he wasn't responsible for the hacks and had just used the nickname "Hell" on several message boards. He claimed that the real Hell helped him prepare for the trial, and that he had Navalny's correspondence on his computer because he was doing research for the case.



## Dead in the water

Rescue workers and troops search for victims after a train carrying hundreds of Pakistani military personnel and their families derailed into a canal near Gujranwala in the Punjab province. At least 17 people, including the driver, were killed and 200 others injured after the collapse of a bridge.





Controversial post: Justice Lowell Goddard is the latest choice to head the Child Sexual Abuse inquiry

## Britain

# Child abuse survivors accuse Home Office of inquiry cover-up

Felicity Capon London

✉@felicitycapon

Survivors of child abuse are furious after they say a senior Home Office official went “absolutely nuts” at them over questions they asked in a meeting intended to promote transparency in a paedophile inquiry that has spread through the British Establishment amid accusations of a cover-up.

They also accuse the Home Office of “cloak-and-dagger” behaviour and are demanding that it make public the agendas and minutes of the meetings – something the Home Office has refused to do, arguing that releasing the information is not in the public interest.

The inquiry was set up after accusations that high-profile paedophiles were operating in Westminster in the 1980s and will investigate whether “public bodies and other non-state institutions have taken seriously their duty of care to protect children from sexual abuse in England and Wales”.

The meetings with survivors

were arranged in November, December and February to consult them on who should lead the inquiry after first Dame Elizabeth Butler-Sloss and then Fiona Woolf were forced to step down over their links to the Establishment.

The survivors suggested Michael Mansfield QC and Baroness Hale, a Supreme Court judge, but say they were then simply informed someone else had been appointed – Justice Lowell Goddard. One victim, Andy Kershaw, sent a Freedom of Information request before the final meeting asking the Home Office who it had consulted in the decision to appoint Goddard.

The FoI request was turned down, so in the final meeting, Kershaw, a survivor of abuse at Forde Park, a school in south Devon, asked John O’Brien, then the department’s director of safeguarding, to tell him whom the Home Office had consulted. When O’Brien refused, Kershaw asked the room whether anyone present had backed Goddard. At this

point, O’Brien became angry. “He prevaricated. Then he went absolutely nuts and told me I couldn’t ask that question, then he shut me down,” says Kershaw. He then sent another FoI request in May, asking that the minutes and agendas be made available, a request the Home Office has now denied.

Both Kershaw and another survivor, Ian McFadyen, who was present at the meetings and confirms Kershaw’s account, say that no sensitive information was discussed or allegations made during the meetings.

“They are using survivors’ confidentiality to hide behind releasing minutes,” says McFadyen. “This cloak and dagger behaviour, it’s stomach-churning. I’m disgusted. I engaged with it, and I’m angry that I did.”

“It’s supposed to be an open and transparent process,” says Kershaw, “and even when it comes to simple questions, they are stonewalling us.”

The Home Office failed to comment on the allegations.

## The week ahead

### Sunday 12 July

The Wimbledon men’s final is played on Centre Court as the two finalists battle to win the title and the prize money – which is almost €2.5m.



### Tuesday 14 July

France marks Bastille Day, the country’s biggest national holiday. Mass celebrations commemorating the storming of the prison, which marked the beginning of the French Revolution, are held across the country. A traditional military parade makes its way down the Champs-Élysées and at night hundreds of fireworks light up the skies over Paris.

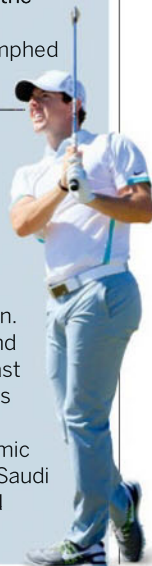
The last day of the Running of the Bulls in Pamplona, which is part of the San Fermin Festival. As well as the famous race through the town’s narrow streets, the festival includes fireworks, street parties and bullfighting.

### Thursday 16 July

The 144th Gold Open championship tees off in St Andrews, with 156 golfers contending for the tournament’s hallowed claret jug trophy and the €1.6m first prize on the course where Rory McIlroy, below, triumphed last year.

### Saturday 18 July

Muslims across the world mark the first day of Eid-al-Fitr, also known simply as Eid or Id, on the day of the first new moon after Ramadan. The day brings an end to the month-long fast observed by Muslims and it is a national holiday in many Islamic countries including Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Indonesia.







**Uncertain prospect:** Barcelona's Ada Colau, below right, has blocked 38 new hotels cashing in on attractions such as Gaudí's Parc Güell, above Spain

## Barcelona mayor initiates anti-tourist plan as radical populists take over Spanish cities

**Damien Sharkov** London

Twitter: @DamienSharkov

As Syriza's anti-austerity programme spectacularly clashes with the EU agenda in Greece, Spain's major cities are gripped by a Left-wing, populist tide of their own. A month since taking charge in Spain's municipal elections, the mayors of Madrid and Barcelona, endorsed by Left-wing party Podemos, have already begun shaking things up.

After sweeping to power in Barcelona in the May elections, anti-eviction activist Ada Colau became the city's first female mayor and pledged to return Spain's second biggest city to its residents.

In a move which Spanish tourism experts anticipate could be the first of many, Colau signed a moratorium on granting any new licences for hotels or tourism accommodation for the next year. This, the mayor hopes, will allow City Hall to prevent neighbourhoods in picturesque parts of town such as the centre

and seaside from becoming the domain solely of tourists.

Thirty-eight hotel projects have been halted in the city. Analysts have already warned that this first step could have a negative effect on job creation. Jordi Sanchís from Barcelona-based hotel consulting firm Hotel Solutions says that the nature of Colau's policies are "a threat" to Barcelona's tourism sector.

"The 38 hotels would have created 1,500 jobs once opened," Sanchís says. "This is not counting the thousands of jobs created directly or indirectly during the construction of the projects."

Of the projects which have been reportedly halted are a Hyatt development in the iconic Torre Agbar landmark and a Four Seasons hotel. Neither company would comment on the reports.

Sanchís adds that should any large companies choose to pursue legal action against the city of Barcelona because of the moratorium, it could force the city council to pay billions in compensation,

alongside losing potential revenue taxing the new hotels.

Colau has also prompted concern from sports fans after reiterating her desire to slash the €16m subsidy to the Catalan F1 racing circuit and instead potentially using the money to provide lunches for low-income school children. She has also pledged to reduce salaries of council officials and reduce expenses.

Meanwhile, Colau's Madrid counterpart, retired lawyer Manuela Carmena, below left, whose Ahora Madrid party also ran with the backing of Podemos, has the Spanish capital's rich in her sights as the

prospect of turning Spain's most exclusive country club, Club de Campo, into a farm has attracted popular support.

Part of her electoral platform focused on promising that the glitzy golf and country club, built on land owned by the city, ought to be opened to regular citizens. Ahora Madrid supporters have discussed the possibility of turning the club into a public park or farm on the party's official online forum. Both Ahora Madrid and Colau's Barcelona en Comú parties consider themselves "citizen platforms", drawing ideas from publicly consulting their supporters.

The big question, however, is whether the country's national politics will go the way of its two main cities in the general election, due later this year.

With the new Left-wing Podemos and centre-Right Cuidadanos parties playing all the right populist cards, the election looks set to push Spain's traditionally two-party political system into new territory.





# Human-cell microchips could save medical drug research precious time and money

Jessica Firger New York

🐦@jessfirger

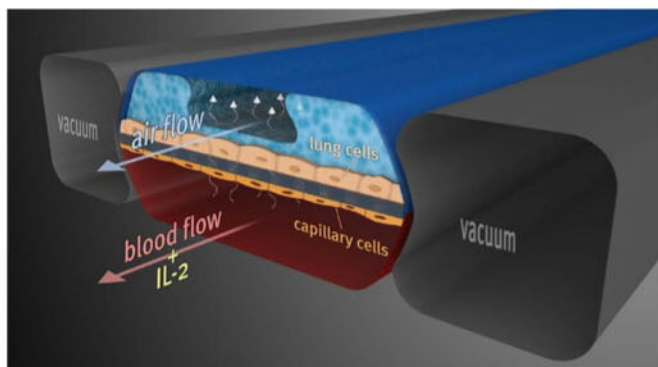
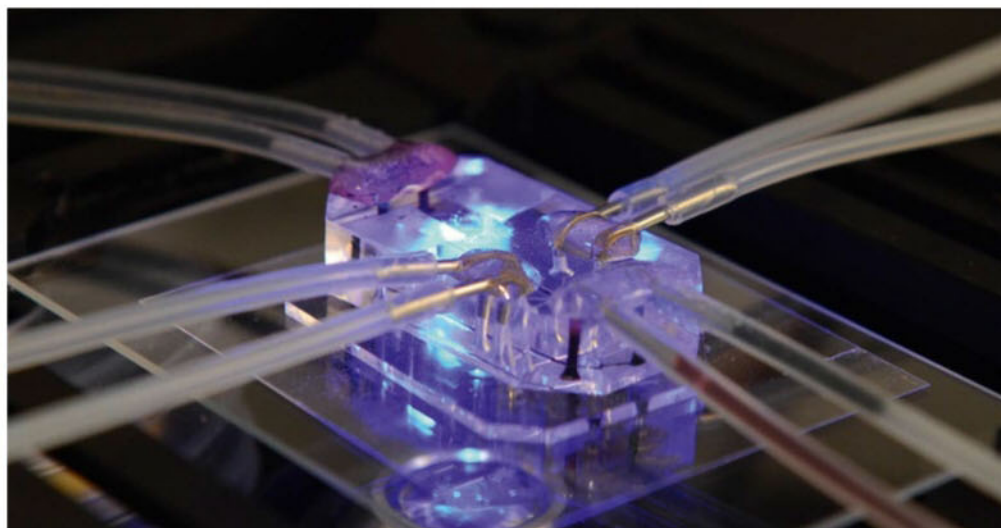
It takes up to 15 years and \$5bn for a single new drug to make it through testing and earn approval from the US Food and Drug Administration (FDA). Before researchers try the compound on humans, it's tested at labs in petri dishes and on animals such as mice and monkeys. More often than not, these studies produce mixed and unreliable data that don't tell researchers much about whether or not the compound is safe and effective for human patients. That's why most drugs don't reach consumers.

For some time, scientists have been searching for ways to cut down on the failure rate and cost of drug testing. Researchers at the Wyss Institute for Biologically Inspired Engineering at Harvard University have developed a solution: Organ-On-Chips.

The clear and flexible polymer microchips are lined with human cells. Each one represents a different human organ system such as lungs, heart and intestines. The institute's goal is to create 10 different organ systems that can be joined together by blood vessel channels to simulate human physiology on a microscale and provide a cheaper, more reliable way to test new drugs.

The sophisticated architecture of these organ-on-chips has also earned the Wyss Institute recognition in the art world with a Design of the Year award and placement in the Museum of Modern Art's permanent collection.

"The real power of this approach is that you have a window to the inner workings of life," says Donald Ingber, a cell biologist, bioengineer and



Breakthrough: the Wyss Institute's microchips can replicate the function of organs such as a lung, above

founding director of the Wyss Institute. "Anything you can ask at the molecular level, we could do in our chips."

In 2008, the team built and tested its first "organoid" chip that mimics the function of human lungs. The chip contains tiny channels separated by a porous membrane to create two pathways – one lined with human lung cells and the other with capillary cells. Air is suctioned through the side channels to emulate breathing. Ingber and his team introduced bacteria into the chip's lung channel and white blood cells into the lower channel. They

observed that the white blood cells permeated the membrane and attacked the bacteria in the lung cell channel – just as in a set of actual human lungs fighting off an infection.

The project has support from the National Institutes of Health, FDA and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, which recently awarded the institute a \$37m grant. Ingber says some scientists are interested in using the chips to conduct research that would be unethical if performed on people, such as studying the effects of gamma radiation on human bodies.

If the project succeeds, the chips could shave years and millions of dollars off drug research. Some companies are already trying out the concept. Janssen Pharmaceuticals Company, a subsidiary of Johnson & Johnson, is currently using Thrombosis-on-Chips to evaluate this potential side effect in new oncology drugs.

"The FDA has been very supportive," says Ingber. "They've told us if they are as good as animals that they would consider accepting data provided by a drug company from one of these models rather than an animal model."





**Adam LeBor  
in Budapest**

Twitter: @adamlebor

## Politics

# We must learn from Sultan Bayezid and enrich ourselves with migrants

They come by land and by sea, walking, swimming, too often drowning. Europe's asylum and refugee crisis has now reached "historic proportions", according to a new report by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. In the first six months of this year, 137,000 migrants arrived by sea, an increase of 83% on 2014. Around 10,000 people a month cross the Serbian land border with Hungary, into the Schengen free-travel zone.

This is a crisis that demands a considered, strategic response from Europe. The human tide is not about to ebb. The post-1918 settlement in the Middle East has collapsed. Libya, Syria and Iraq no longer function as sovereign, independent states. As Isis, the Islamic State, expands and entrenches, the exodus will only increase.

Germany has taken in 226,000 asylum seekers and 217,000 refugees. (An asylum seeker is a displaced person requesting refugee status and international protection.) France is home to a total of 309,000 asylum seekers and refugees and Sweden 226,000. In June EU countries agreed to take in another 60,000 people. "It is, to tell the disturbing truth, a very modest effort," said Jean-Claude Juncker, the president of the European Commission. Lebanon, in comparison, has taken in 1.1 million refugees and Jordan 737,000.

Meanwhile, Bulgaria has built a fence along its border with Turkey. Hungary is planning one on its frontier with Serbia. "Europe cannot hide behind walls and fences. We would like to see more vision and more leadership," said William Spindler, a UNHCR spokesman. "Five hundred million

people live in the EU, the richest single economy in the world, and they should be able to resettle a few hundred thousand Syrian refugees."

Legal avenues need to be opened so that asylum seekers do not have to risk their lives to reach safety, says Spindler. "Many of those coming already have relatives in Europe. Family reunification could be made easier."

The Yugoslav wars of the 1990s can set a precedent, he argues. Hundreds of thousands fled ethnic cleansing and were granted temporary humanitarian admission to nearby European countries. But once the conflict ended, many returned home. "If this was done now in a

safe, orderly way it would be much easier to prepare for the people's arrival. It would allow officials to make forecasts, and plan school places and apartments."

Europe needs a complete overhaul of the discussion about immigration, says Carne Ross of Independent Diplomat, a diplomatic advisory group. "The debate is impoverished by its reliance on the false terminology of 'illegal' or 'economic' migrants, as if wanting to escape grinding poverty is illegitimate. The evidence is very clear that immigration benefits everyone economically in the end. Cultural diversity is better and more enriching than monocultural homogeneity and narrow-mindedness."

History too, teaches the worth of welcoming the dispossessed. In 1492, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella expelled 200,000 Jews from Spain. Like today's migrants, some perished in the Mediterranean, victims of ship captains who dumped them overboard. But most survived and built new lives in the Ottoman empire, bringing it a wealth of new skills and knowledge.

When Sultan Bayezid II, pictured left, heard the plan of the Spanish monarchs, he was incredulous. "Do you call this king a wise man, who impoverishes his own land and enriches ours?" he asked, and sent a fleet of boats to rescue the Jews.

Many immigrants have much to offer Europe. The very act of making the journey from the Middle East or Africa shows courage, determination and enterprise. A UNHCR survey of Syrian refugees in Greece showed that 40 per cent were university-educated. Some European countries are facing a demographic crisis that immigration could help ameliorate. Projections by Eurostat show that Germany's population will decline from 82 million to 65.4 million by 2080, while Poland will decline from 38.4 million to 29.6 million, a loss of more than a fifth.

Vision is needed, but extremists exploit migration to shift the debate Rightwards, often with the tacit consent of mainstream politicians, says Ralf Melzer, of the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, a Berlin think-tank. European leaders must spell out Europe's legal duties and humanitarian obligations and its capability to host refugees. "The discourse is being poisoned by this mistreatment of migration," says Melzer. "European politicians need to stop looking at opinion polls and having a tactical approach. They need to inform people what is happening and put it in an international context."



“

As the richest single economy in the world the EU should be able to resettle a few hundred thousand refugees



# Business

USA

## BP's multi-billion-dollar fines for Deepwater oil spill could be written off against taxes

Zoë Schlanger New York

Twitter: @zoeschlanger

Oil company BP has just reached an agreement to pay \$18.7bn to settle all the remaining federal and state claims from the years of litigation after the catastrophic 2010 Gulf of Mexico oil spill. But thanks to provisions in the tax code, BP might be able to deduct a large chunk of that sum from its taxes.

According to tax code, when a company pays a fine, it is free to write it off its corporate income taxes unless the fine is expressly for violation of the law. Typically that is indicated by the fine being called a “penalty”, meant to punish the company for wrongdoing. If the language of the settlement describes the fine differently – as “money to resolve claims”, or money used for restoration, for example – the fine can be treated for tax purposes as a business expense.

So the fines can be treated as though they were “just compensating for damages that happened, the same way as you were a company that cleaned someone’s rugs and you spilled something on their rugs, you pay them to replace their rug”, explains Phineas Baxandall, the senior tax and budget policy analyst at the US Public Interest Research Group (US PIRG), a non-profit group that campaigns against such write-offs.

So far, prior to last week’s



Flashback: the offshore rig burns in the Gulf of Mexico in 2010

announcement, BP has paid \$42bn in clean-up and claims in relation to the spill. Of that, only \$4bn was explicitly marked as not tax deductible; that \$4bn was for 14 criminal counts, including manslaughter for the deaths of the 11 people killed in the drilling rig explosion. In that case, the Department of Justice explicitly stated that none of the \$4bn could be written off.

In the case of BP’s settlement, the DOJ has yet to release the final language of the agreement, as it is yet to be finalised by the court. But in a statement, US Attorney General Loretta Lynch hinted to what might and might not be eligible for a tax write-off. She applauded the settlement as just and comprehensive, and referred to the fines as covering “Clean Water Act civil penalties and natural resource damages”. Her use of “penalties” indicates that the \$5.5bn of the total \$18.7bn that are in response to Clean Water Act violations

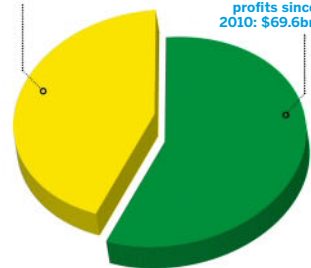
probably won’t be tax-deductible, Baxandall says.

However a fact sheet the DOJ put out at the same time does not refer to the remaining \$13.2bn of the settlement using “penalty” language. Over the next 18 years, BP will pay \$8.1bn for “natural resource damages”, the fact sheet states. Almost \$6bn will be split between five states and several local governments to “settle claims”

### The price of disaster

BP's legal and clean-up costs for Deepwater: At least \$53bn

Total reported profits since 2010: \$69.6bn



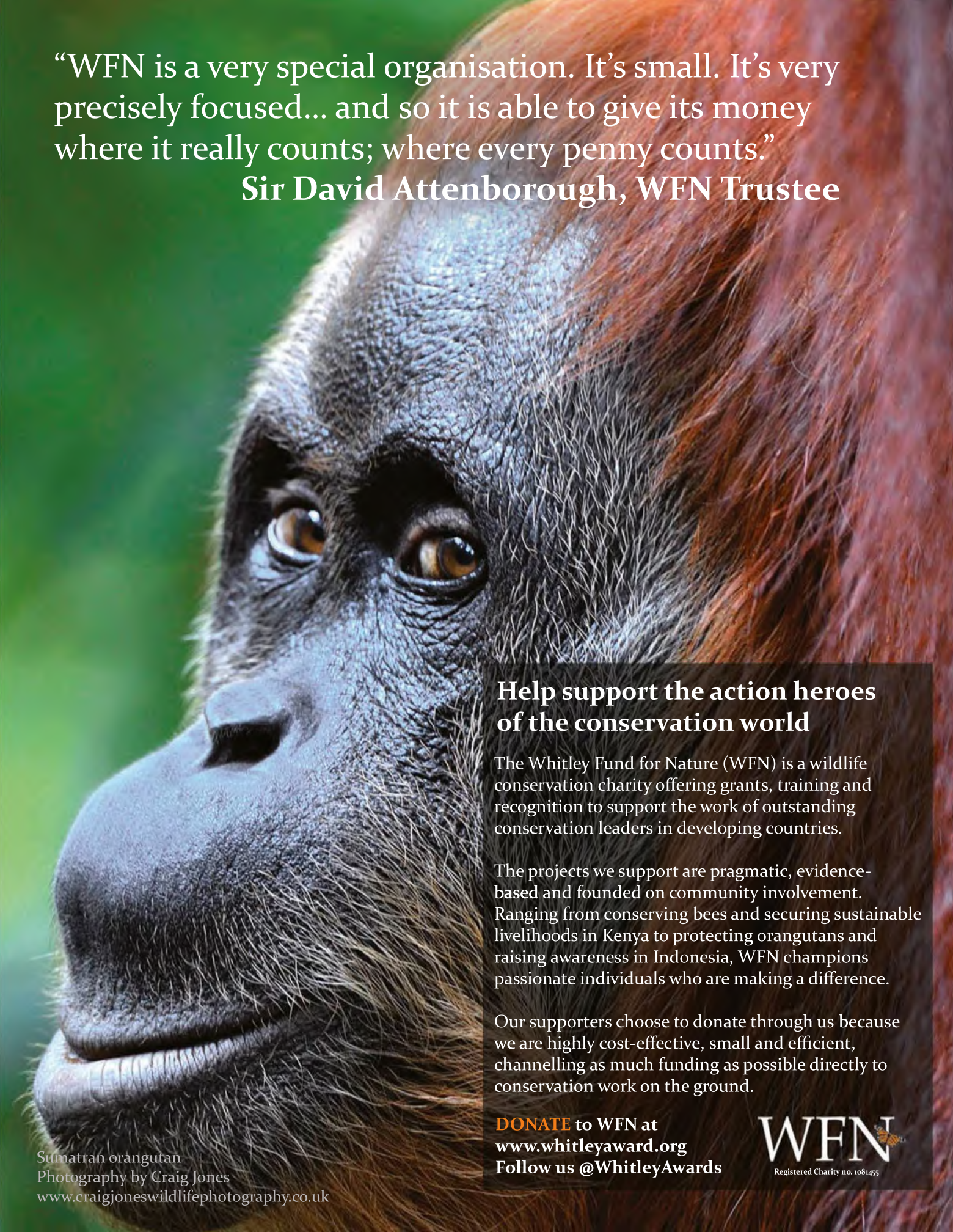
for spill-related “economic damages”, and the remaining \$600m will go to an array of other unresolved damage claims. This fact sheet is not the final agreement, but it could indicate that the remaining \$13.2bn could be written off by BP. If BP does write off the remaining \$13.2bn as losses of corporate income, which is taxed at 35%, the fine could amount to \$8.58bn in tax deductions for the company. The actual tax value of the whole settlement, then, would be \$14.08bn, not \$18.7bn.

Even the \$5.5bn in Clean Water Act violations Lynch referred to as a “penalty” might not be immune to deduction, Baxandall says, because 80% of it is set to go to natural resource restoration – something BP could use to argue that most of the fine is not solely punitive and so should not be treated as a penalty. She says a lack of disclosure requirements mean that we’ll never know for sure what happens, because tax deduction claims on settlements are treated as confidential business information. “We wouldn’t know unless the IRS challenged it in court and that court case came to light.”

Earlier this year, two Senators introduced a bill to bring more transparency to the process. The Truth in Settlements Act would require public disclosure of settlement agreements that federal agencies enter into, if the agreement exceeds \$1m.

SOURCE: BP





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**Sir David Attenborough, WFN Trustee**

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## Hot in his heels

Madrid's "High Heels Race", where runners must wear 15cm platforms or spikes. The race kicks off its Gay Pride celebration.

## Greece

# Cash-strapped Greeks put money on Bitcoin

Conor Gaffey London

✉ @ConorGaffey

Greeks are turning to cryptocurrency Bitcoin in the face of painful capital controls and a potential exit from the euro. Bitcoin exchanges have seen a surge in interest from Greek users and the digital currency's value hit a four-month high of \$273 on Sunday 5 July in the wake of Greece's 'No' vote to proposals by eurozone creditors.

Bitcoin trades from Greece have rocketed by 79% on Bitstamp, the world's third biggest exchange, while Greeks are registering with German exchange Bitcoin.de at a rate 10 times higher than usual.

Despite the recent surge in popularity, Greece only has one Bitcoin ATM in the entire country, at an Athens bookstore. About a dozen locations accept the currency in Athens and its environs.

Bitcoin is a digital currency which allows for anonymous payments without the use of banks and is currently unregulated and not tied to any particular country.

Mike Hearn, a core Bitcoin developer who has also worked as a software developer for Google, admits that the cryptocurrency is not a "magic bullet" that could solve all of Greece's financial woes, although he believes that the

Greek crisis could have avoided such a messy conclusion if the country had been using Bitcoin for a number of years.

"If Greece used Bitcoin instead of the euro, the outcome would still be the same where the government would have to balance taxation and spending but it probably would have happened a lot sooner," says Hearn.

He says that fractional reserve banking - in which only a small percentage of bank deposits are backed by cash and available for withdrawal - is less likely under a Bitcoin system, where the amount of currency in circulation is regulated by a fixed formula. Greece would have been unable to continue borrowing from its creditors and would have been forced to get its house in order much earlier.

The use of the cryptocurrency, created in 2009, is legal within Europe. In August 2013, the value of all Bitcoins in circulation exceeded €1.3bn.

Dr Stephen Kinsella, senior lecturer in economics at the University of Limerick, Ireland, told *Newsweek* that Greek interest in Bitcoin is a natural reaction to the imposition of financial strictures. However, he added that the volatile nature of Bitcoin, which can vary wildly from week to week, makes it unsuitable for use as a parallel currency in Greece.

## The smart money

# Another new dawn for Europe's under-exploited solar industry



Rory Ross  
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The solar energy sector has changed beyond recognition even in the past six years. The bright dawn of solar panels has made a dark night for coal-fired power stations. Emboldened by backing from magnates Warren Buffett and Elon Musk, the US has seized on solar and, according to the Solar Energy Industries Association, the US now has 21.3 gigawatts of solar photovoltaic (PV) capacity, "enough to power 4.3 million American homes". It adds that: "51% of new electric generating capacity came from solar in Q1 2015."

China has also gone heliotropic. With plans for cleaner, more reliable energy sources than oil and coal, China wants to double world solar energy production within two years. Hanergy, the world's largest thin-film solar power company based in Beijing, is doing its bit by supplying IKEA, which has installed 700,000 solar panels worldwide.

Europe, however, has yet to see the light, partly due to cuts in subsidies. Cloudy Britain installed more solar capacity last year than any of its warmer European neighbours. Now a new company will float in London this month specifically targeting Europe: NextEnergy European Solar will raise €300m to invest in utility-scale solar energy assets in the sunnier parts of the EU.

This radiant ascent is thanks to improvements both in solar

efficiency and in energy storage. If we can meet all our household power needs from solar panels on our roofs, and somehow store it, then it's goodbye national grid. Elon Musk announced earlier this year that Tesla, his company, will sell large lithium batteries designed to do precisely that.

The issue is cost: panels and batteries are still expensive. The cost-benefits of Musk's vision are unclear, since the break-even point would lie way into a peerless future. A critical moment will be reached when the costs of solar reach parity with those of the national grid. According to a report by Barclays last year, Hawaii has

## Cloudy Britain installed more last year than any of its EU neighbours

already reached that point. California will attain it in 2017; New York will follow in 2018.

No one knows precisely how solar's market dynamics will play out. Two things are certain. The first is that nothing in business moves in a straight or even predictably crooked line. There are many factors that may hinder or hasten solar: take your pick of energy storage, governmental subsidy and smart metering systems that allow us to check the price of power before boiling the kettle. Then there is the politically charged question of how national grids will function and fight back in an environment of decentralised energy generation, in which households are both consumers and producers of power. The second certainty is that the sun will rise in the morning.



# 'Human beings are not the master species but the servant species. Our power should be exercised in looking after creation'

Andrew Linzey, Oxford animal theologian



**By Robert Chalmers**

Twitter: @Escartefigue777

"Would you bury a golden retriever?"

"Yes," replies Reverend Linzey.

"A cat?"

The Oxford academic again responds in the affirmative, but this time with a mutinous look; he knows, from bitter experience, where this conversation is heading. "A goldfish?"

"I can see your headline now," he says. "'The Barmy Theologian Who Will Bury Your Pet Fish'. Does the idea of conducting some form of service for a goldfish seem absurd to you?"

"It sounds weirder than it would for an elephant," I tell him. "Or a chimpanzee."

"And what is the rational basis for that assertion?"

"I suppose it has to do with intelligence, and the social circle frequented by the deceased."

"You have to ask what you are doing at a funeral service," Linzey says. "You're thanking God for the life of the animal, or human being, and commending a life into the hands of God."

"A beetle?"

"Allow me to re-orientate this discussion ever so slightly. From God's perspective, every creature is loved or is no creature at all. I'm not saying we have a duty to pick up every dead animal and conduct a complete funeral service for them."

"That," I suggest, "would be fairly time-consuming: think of the ants alone..."

"Death is woven into the fabric of existence. Death deserves acknowledgment."

It's easy to mock, as Andrew Linzey is all too aware. The world's leading animal theologian, who lectures on ethics at Oxford, where he is attached to St Stephen's College, Linzey, 63, who has professorships at other universities including Chicago, is no stranger to ridicule from the British tabloids.

Inconveniently for his critics, the Anglican priest, who meets me at his house in Oxford, is a highly intelligent and articulate proponent of the theological case for more compassionate treatment of his fellow creatures. The founder and director of the Oxford Centre for Animal Ethics offers the animal rights movement the kind of serious academic muscle that Germaine Greer provided for feminism in the Sixties.

"What is the Linzey doctrine?"

"The advocacy of progressive disengagement [from cruelty]. If God so loves the world, non-rational creatures must have a look-in

too. Human beings have a responsibility of a kind that mice or giraffes don't. We are not the master species but the servant species. Our power should be exercised in looking after creation."

Linzey proposes the establishment of a body called AAA: "Animal Abusers Anonymous. We're all guilty either through products we use, food we eat or taxes we pay, so I think self-righteous zeal is entirely inappropriate. When there were protests against the animal laboratory in Oxford I didn't participate because there was violence and illegality."

A tireless scourge of the notion of animals as "meat machines", he says he takes encouragement from the broadening disquiet aroused by abattoirs, intensive farms, and killing for sport.

My research for this meeting involved consulting literature such as *Communicating with Animals*, by Arthur Myers. It includes poems written by pets and "transmitted telepathically". One verse, composed by Belle, a labrador from Vancouver, includes the line: "The wind is so strong that I can't hold on, Brenda."

Linzey, who in 2001 was awarded a doctorate of divinity by the then Archbishop of Canterbury George Carey, does not belong in such unorthodox company. That said, our conversation was not without its surreal moments; at one point I did ask: "Can a prawn sin?"

"Absolutely not. But beings with the capacity to suffer have

the capacity to be wronged. They also possess some degree of cognitive ability and some sense of self awareness."

"Unlike Tottenham fans."

"Experience suggests I should not comment on that."

Linzey is engaging, bright, amusing and, above all, sane. The mainstream church, he argues, will slowly become more active in its opposition to what he sees as institutionalised cruelty.

"I am not a starry-eyed idealist. We're experiencing a gradual paradigm shift from the idea that animals are commodities to the idea that, as sentient creatures, they have dignity, value and rights. The Christian church has made similar shifts on the rights of women, and gays, and of the child. Things advance. This is where somebody like Richard Dawkins, say, gets religion so terribly wrong. He doesn't understand that the church is like a river and changes, much as science moves on. He dwells on the worst of its history. That's like judging secularism by Hitler, Stalin and Pol Pot."

This tradition of ever-broadening compassion, he argues, "is not finished yet. Pope John Paul II condemned liberation theology. Pope Francis welcomes it. It is possible to witness some amazing reversals of attitude".

And how, I ask him, can such transitions best be accelerated?

"I'd suggest three things,"

Linzey replies. "Belief, perseverance, and the ability to live long enough."









# A NATION CRUSHED BY ANCIENT HISTORY

Greece's heavy inheritance from the classical world has meant it could never make the transition to modernity: 'We were shielded from our faults and now they have caught up with us,' is the lament

**BY ADAM LEBOR**







# S

sitting at the café of the Technopolis cultural centre in downtown Athens, cigarillo in hand, Antonis Kafetzopoulos, one of Greece's best-known actors, gives a quick digested history of Greece's travails. "Greece is a failed state and has been since our independence in the 1830s. We have not managed to build the kind of state we wanted. France had a revolution and an Enlightenment. But we didn't follow that model. We always tried to compromise between the old Ottoman establishment and modern Europe," he explains through a haze of blue smoke.

In the struggle between modernism and myth, the latter triumphed. "Our narrative focused on national values and our ancient history, rather than the state. That is partly because we were not a homogenous nation then," he says.

"So every time we try to make reforms, the new authorities find that the previous ones left the situation untouched. One reason nothing seems to work in Greece is that we have so many layers of the old system under any new rules."

The Technopolis at least, does work. With its raw brick walls, post-industrial chic, large open spaces and buzzing atmosphere, the Technopolis could fit in anywhere from Brooklyn to Berlin. A former municipal gas works, the site has been converted into a cultural centre and imaginative museum that transports visitors back to its 19th-century heyday. A hub for music, dance, theatre and performing arts, it has helped revitalise the city's Gazi neighbourhood.

Now 63, Kafetzopoulos has joined the Athens municipality as a deputy mayor, he says, to try and make a difference. "When Greece joined the European Union, the money was channelled through the wrong people. It made a new rich elite. But now there is a new class, of people who are not corrupt but who are interested in making reforms and making

Greece work. They are not united yet but reality will bring them together."

Building a new Greece will be a long haul, everyone agrees. The crisis has deep historical roots, emphasises Yannis Palaiologos, a reporter with *Kathimerini* newspaper, and author of *The Thirteenth Labour of Hercules*. "There is a fear and suspicion of the West, a fear of globalisation and change, and behind the bravado we have an inferiority complex. We have a heavy inheritance from the ancient world and were never able to make the transition to modernity. We were shielded from our faults and now they have caught up with us. But we are shocked and blame others for them."

Local potentates still exert enormous power, says Palaiologos. "Even now all kinds of business and union leaders have their own power bases and prevent the creation of a strong central state. Instead they exploit the state for rent-seeking purposes."

Greek culture brought the world its richest myths, and myths still play a central role in perceptions nowadays, says Palaiologos. "This ambivalence towards the West goes back to the idea that we are the playthings of the Western powers. But it was the great powers that gave Greece independence. If it was Slovakia that was causing so many problems in the eurozone, it would be long gone. But one of the reasons we were allowed into the EU was our classical heritage."

Centuries of rule by outsiders have left a disconnect between the citizens and the state and a tradition in which avoiding paying taxes and outwitting that state became a patriotic duty. Greece only declared independence in 1829 after centuries of rule by the Ottomans. Ioannis Kapodistrias, the first Governor, tried to build a centralised modern state, thus threatening the interests of powerful local warlords, and was assassinated in 1831.

The following year Otto, the first modern king of Greece, was crowned. But Otto was a Bavarian prince and, though he ruled until 1862, the imposition of a foreign royal further widened the gap between Greeks and their new state.

In the 20th century, the country was badly buffeted by forces far larger than itself. After the trauma of the First World War, in 1923, hundreds of thousands of Greeks were expelled from Turkey, and Turks were forced to leave Greece. In the Second World War, Greece suffered a savage Nazi occupation.

"Greece emerged from the Second World War completely destroyed," says Professor Neni Panourgia, author of *Dangerous Citizens: The Greek Left and the Terror of the State*. "The country had no railways, no roads, her bridges were blown up, her infrastructure wrecked and 400,000 were dead from war, famine and retaliations. The country was completely destroyed financially, and then there was a civil war."

The civil war against the Communists lasted from 1945 to 1949, leaving the country with psychological scars that last to this day. After it, Greece was ruled by a US-backed military junta from 1967 to 1974. Now the troika - the International Monetary Fund, the EU and the European Central Bank - and the Germans in particular are being blamed for Greece's woes.

The struggle against the troika has been subsumed into a deeper historical narrative of the fight for independence. And whatever the faults of successive Greek governments, there is no doubt that for many Greeks austerity has been a disaster. Unemployment and poverty are soaring, and beneath the Mediterranean bonhomie is a bleak undercurrent of despair.

"We feel like we are back in a situation like after the First World War, where the great powers are deciding the fates of other countries," says Professor Stathis Gourgouris, author of *Dream Nation*:





**Under the swastika: an Athens building requisitioned by the Wehrmacht flies the Nazi flag in 1941. German occupation “completely destroyed” Greece**

*Enlightenment, Colonisation and the Institution of Modern Greece.* “Greece has never managed to extricate itself from the network of foreign powers fighting over their regional interests.

“The idea that Greeks don’t pay their debts is overstated. We need to create conditions that enable us to pay our debts and create growth. All this was imposed from the outside. If it had been explained to the Greek people, they would not rebel, if there was a sense of justice. Austerity has produced such misery, but the problem is also the way it was done, which has fuelled this sense of injustice. They say we are being reckless, but it’s the Germans that are being reckless, with Greece and the EU.”

And when things go wrong, society takes a darker turn. A population ruled by outside forces for so long, and once again feeling under siege, easily turns to conspiracy theories. Most Greek Jews were killed in the Holocaust and only a few thousand remain. But 69% of Greeks harbour anti-Semitic attitudes, according to the Anti-Defamation League, the highest proportion outside the Middle East and North Africa, and 85% believe Jews have too much power in the business world.

“Greeks buy into conspiracy theories, that the whole world is against us and trying to destroy us,” says Constantinos Koufopolous, managing director of Axia

Capital Markets, an Athens investment banking group. Koufopolous represents a new generation of business people who have no patience for the old excuses for Greece’s economic torpor. “The Jews, the Americans, there is always a bad guy to blame for what is happening. Now it’s the Germans. Greeks have a superiority complex because they feel inferior. We don’t respect ourselves and our legacy and our ancient history. We feel that the world owes us, which may be true but we have to do something ourselves.”

#### **A hard bargain**

On a bright sunny Sunday morning, Plaka, the tourist heart of Athens, is crowded with visitors from around the world. The maze of streets and alleys spreading out on the slopes of the Acropolis echo to a babel of languages. But the global downturn means that while many are looking, few are actually buying and when they do they try to drive a hard bargain. The golden age of Greek tourism has taken multiple blows: from 9/11, the global recession and the imposition of the euro. When \$1 bought 400 drachma, it was easy to feel like a millionaire on holiday.

“We see more people, but they aren’t spending money because of the recession in Europe,” says Margaret Stylianou, of Zorba’s Odyssey, a jewellery shop. “The

**‘Greeks buy into conspiracy theories, that the whole world is against us and trying to destroy us. There’s always a bad guy to blame’**



people who can afford to buy here aren't coming. They are going to other countries. I think things will be difficult for many more years and it will take time before we can recover."

A few doors away, at the Athens Shop, Christina Ifanti tells a similar story. "There are many tourists but they aren't buying. They try and bargain a €1.50 fridge magnet down to €1." The shop sells handmade replicas of Greek antiquities, and the walls are lined with Spartan helmets, friezes and statues. The business was set up in 1935 by Ifanti's grandfather, who opened the first workshop, and Ifanti, 24, is optimistic about the future. "We are in the heart of Athens. People always want a nice holiday with friendly people. This is my country and I want it to get better."

Greece is a tough environment for entrepreneurs, says Koufopoulos. "Greeks have a Left-wing heart and a Right-wing pocket. This is a very divided economy. There is a private sector that works very hard and a huge public sector that has been brought up without taking any risks and an increasing sense of entitlement. People are very strong for socialism, but when it comes to their pockets they don't want to pay taxes."

Successive governments have fed the public sector to build their electoral base, says Koufopoulos. "The public sector is so big and so organised, they keep feeding it for votes. Pasok, the socialists, were amazingly good at this."

All of this hampers entrepreneurs and business people. "It's extremely difficult to do business in Greece. It's very bureaucratic, the licensing and the permits all have to go through the public sector. It can take years to go by the book."

Decades of rule shared between Pasok, the socialists, and the conservative New Democracy party, saw a cosy consensus about patronage networks, says Palaiologos. "Pasok and New Democracy disagreements were about who would run the state and spread the patronage networks. All this relativises citizens' allegiance to the state. They ask, 'why should I pay taxes when the government just lines its pockets?' When roads and hospitals are built, it's without any cost control."

*And now it goes as it goes  
And where it ends is Fate.  
And neither by singeing flesh  
Nor tipping cups of wine  
Nor shedding burning tears can you  
Enchant away the rigid Fury*

Two-and-a-half thousand years after Aeschylus wrote Agamemnon, his words still echo across Greece. It was that "rigid fury" with the former ruling elites of Right



Three generations of power: Greek prime ministers Georgios (grandfather), Andreas (father) and George Papandreou

and Left that swept Syriza to power in January. Founded in 2004 as a rainbow coalition that included social democrats, radical Leftists and feminists, Syriza is now the largest party in the Greek parliament, ruling in coalition with the Right-wing Independent Greeks party.

"Syriza politicians are different to those from the old system," says councillor Eleni Kyramargiou. "Other governments showed no interest in our problems. Syriza have only been in government for five months, but they are trying to find solutions."

We meet in a garden bar in Exarcheia, an edgy student neighbourhood in downtown Athens. Exarcheia is a veteran redoubt of the radical Left, its graffiti-covered buildings now home to trendy cafés and publishing houses. But not all visitors are welcome. When Yanis Varoufakis, the motorcycle-riding former Syriza finance minister, came here for dinner in April 2015 with his wife, Danae Stratou, he was assaulted by a gang of youths wearing balaclavas.

Kyramargiou, 34, is a councillor in Drapetsona, a deprived area by the port of Pireaus, near to Athens. "Syriza cares about poverty and unemployment. They have programmes for the unemployed and for poor people to find jobs." In Drapetsona these are sorely needed. Many of the inhabitants are descended from Greek refugees who were forced out of Turkey in the 1923 population exchange. The tanneries, cement and fertiliser factories that provided jobs have closed. There is high unemployment and social deprivation, and a substantial immigrant population.

Yet despite economic adversity, a community spirit is flourishing, says Kyramargiou. There is a strong sense of social solidarity. "The school communities help each other. Every school has a social market, where richer families provide food or financial help to poorer families."

Kyramargiou welcomed the referendum result. "It gives us the opportunity to decide not just financial things, but our own future, and that is something that is good to decide yourself, and not by the European gods. For me, that is a more important question than financial issues."

### The view from the top

Kifissia, a northern suburb of Athens, is another world to Exarcheia. Its quiet, tree-shadowed streets are home to luxury apartment blocks and graceful villas, home to the country's political and business elite, such as George Papandreou, prime minister from 2009 to 2011.

Papandreou is a name with resonance in Greece: his father Andreas Papandreou served as prime minister in the 1980s and 1990s, his grandfather, Georgios



Papandreou, in the 1940s and 1960s. There seems little danger of balaclava-wearing hoodlums bothering the former prime minister as we meet at Dante's café, a pleasant outdoor venue.

George Papandreou was an experienced politician when he took power, a former foreign minister and minister for education. But even he was shocked at the wastefulness and inefficiency of the Greek state. "The legal system is very slow. It can take seven years to resolve something. When you have a heavy bureaucracy and a slow legal system it causes corruption because people want to get things done."

Getting things done, especially where an intrusive, over-regulated state is involved, is never easy in Greece. "I asked how many civil servants there were. Nobody knew. Nobody knew how many government agencies existed."

Eventually he got the answer: 716,000 civil servants, for a country of 11 million people. Britain, in contrast, with a population of 64 million, has 447,000. Within two years the number of Greek civil servants had been reduced to 560,000. The state sector is still bloated, but at least now there is an annual survey.

The medical sector was especially problematic, says Papandreou. "We knew there was corruption within the medical sector, with doctors over-prescribing. We

**'I asked how many civil servants there were. Nobody knew. Not even how many government agencies existed'**

thought that doctors were getting kickbacks from international drug companies, then they would send the bill to the taxpayer."

Papandreou proposed that all prescriptions should be monitored through an online system, but the health minister responded that the doctors said it would not work because they could not use computers. Papandreou was incredulous. "Doctors are contracted to the state, so I said to end all the contracts of doctors who cannot use a computer. In two weeks 95% had learned. The cost of prescription drugs was cut by €2.5 billion a year, more than was raised by property taxes."

The 2008 global crisis brought out two things, says Papandreou, "the imbalances of the eurozone and the weakness of Greek governing structures. Greece had access to cheap money but funnelled it through a system of government that was wasteful and partially corrupt. Greece could access euros, but without a centralised support system, economic imbalances worsened."

The lack of a proper monitoring system by the EU accentuated Greece's problem. "When the US economy is in trouble, the Federal Reserve can intervene, but there is no equivalent in Europe."

What's needed, says Papandreou, is an EU equivalent of the IMF, a European Monetary Fund, that would not be



On the Acropolis: while tourists are still coming in numbers, the global recession means that they are not spending as they used to



## 'If Europe had said, "don't worry, this is a situation we can deal with", then we could have had more focus on reforms'

beholden to any country. "Without that agency, it is the strongest country, Germany, that decides, but its decisions were not always technically correct, as it had no experience of this situation. Then these decisions are beholden to parliaments. Once this gets politicised you cannot deal with it logically. The effect of this was to box the troika into German domestic politics. When the IMF gives economic aid, it does not ask all its parliaments to agree."

Strong verbal support could also have been a game-changer for Greece, instilling confidence in global financial markets, Papandreou believes. In July 2012, Mario Draghi, the president of the European Central Bank, said that the ECB was ready to "do whatever it takes" to preserve the euro. The euro strengthened, Spanish and Italian borrowing costs fell and European stocks rose. "If Europe had done something similar for Greece, had said, 'don't worry, this is a situation we can deal with', then we would have had a different programme," says Papandreou. "We would not have had to cut so quickly, we could have had more focus on reforms."

Despite the volatility of national politics, Left and Right agree that things cannot continue as they are. "We need a deep structural reform programme to make the changes that we want," says Papandreou. "Pensions are not the real issue. We need to fix the tax system. Corruption and high taxes lead to more corruption. We have made changes, we have introduced property and luxury taxes, but not enough changes."

All sides also agree on the need to stay in the eurozone. A return to the drachma would be catastrophic, at least in the short-term. The currency would rapidly devalue," says Papandreou. "If we had done that in 2010 it would have been dramatic and it will be more so now. We have made a lot of economic adjustments since then. We have made progress and we are almost there. There are a lot of positives with the euro: credibility, cheap interest rates and stability."

For visitors at least, Greece is still a holiday paradise. It has good weather, beaches, culture and history. The people are friendly and hospitable, passionate and

vivacious. And they are coping. Apart from long lines at ATMs, life continues in Athens.

"Nobody could imagine such a situation, it's a shock to society," says Yiorgos Kaminis, the mayor of Athens. "But the people are coping very well, they are waiting patiently to take their 60 euros from the ATMs, and Athens still has so much to offer."

Greeks need to engage with the problems of Greek society, says Angie Athanassiades. "There is a deep distrust of the system and it is very difficult to get people with different views to sit down together. We need to fix that."

A writer and teacher, Athanassiades also sees parallels between Aeschylus's writings and Greece today. "Aeschylus's belief is that one must make sacrifices and suffer, in order to come out of what might seem like an impossible predicament. Now it has become evident that what Greeks perceive as sacrifice has to be internal, rather than externally imposed."

The collapse of the post-1918 ordering of the Middle East, the destruction of Syria and Iraq, and the rise of the Islamic State make Greece more important than ever, says Palaiologos. "This is a very troubled neighbourhood. Even in our appalling state we are a beacon of stability. Even if we changed our currency there would be a humanitarian aid package and measures taken to prevent us leaving the European Union."

Some murmur of a coming catastrophe if no new agreement is reached. Others argue that this can be a pivotal moment. Kostis Karpozilos, of [analyzegreece.gr](http://analyzegreece.gr), an influential website, says that three things need to happen. "We need a national discussion about the future of a country on the periphery of Europe, an international discussion about the future of the European project in the 21st century and about Greece's relations with Europe."

Greece has been here before. Eric Ambler, in his classic Balkan spy novel, *The Mask of Dimitrios*, recounts the quest of Latimer, an English writer, to find out the truth about Dimitrios's death. The book is set in the late 1930s. In Athens Latimer meets Santos, a Greek government official, who promises to help him. "Organisation," says Santos. "That is the secret of modern statecraft. Organisation will make a Greater Greece. A new empire. But patience is necessary."

But for Greece now, time, like euros, is in short supply. ■



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Mass misery: pensioners struggle to enter a National





Bank branch to receive part of their pension in Iraklio on the island of Crete, Greece, after the bank shutdown was relaxed for the elderly







# THE NEW EASTERN BLOC

The hitherto obscure Shanghai Co-operation Organisation is breaking out of the shadows. With India set to join Russia and China, is a new power rising in the East?

BY **ANDY DAVIS**







his month, as *Newsweek* goes to print, an international organisation all but unknown in the West is set to announce that its membership will soon include countries representing half the world's population.

If the hopes of its leading backers - particularly Russia - are realised, the 15th annual summit of the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) in the Russian city of Ufa will mark the moment when this previously obscure body starts to demand much closer attention from the West.

The SCO's plan is to invite India and Pakistan to apply formally to take their place alongside Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan as full members. The idea behind these invitations is to extend the SCO's reach south across the Asian landmass, bolstering its claim that it is a counterbalance to the Western-dominated international institutions that have held sway since the end of the Second World War.

But if the imminent expansion of the SCO signals a major step on the road to a "multi-polar" world order, then it is a journey that promises to be long and arduous, with ample opportunity for fellow travellers to go their separate ways.

Over the past few years, the Turkish president Recep Tayyip Erdogan has repeatedly vented his frustration at Turkey's lack of progress in joining

the European Union by raising the prospect of joining the SCO instead. During a visit to Russia in 2013, Erdogan is reported to have said: "If we get into the SCO, we will say goodbye to the European Union. [The SCO] is better - much more powerful. Pakistan wants in. India wants in as well. If the SCO wants us, all of us will become members of this organisation."

To date, no invitation has been forthcoming for Turkey, in spite of warm words in public between Erdogan and Russian president Vladimir Putin. At a time of instability on Turkey's southern border and growing uncertainty about Putin's intentions, however, Erdogan's threats bolster the apparent credibility of the SCO even if they are yet to be taken seriously at the highest levels.

The SCO started life, in 1996, as the "Shanghai Five", formed in the aftermath of the Soviet Union's break-up to enable Russia, China and the three former Soviet states in Central Asia that share a border with China (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) to resolve their various territorial disputes. Having succeeded in this effort to ensure stability in Central Asia, the "Five" became six in 2001, with the addition of Uzbekistan, and changed their name to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. The job of secretary-general to the organisation is shared between the members in rotating three-year terms - the Russian governor of Irkutsk Oblast, Dmitry Mezentsev, who did not respond to *Newsweek's* requests for an interview, is the present incumbent - although the SCO's permanent headquarters are in Beijing.

The focus during the organisation's early years was on regional security, conceived of in the Chinese formulation of countering "terrorism, separatism and extremism" - for example, the threat Beijing identified from its Uighur population in the western province of Xinjiang, which borders the former Soviet states.

Since 2004, SCO members have run a "Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure", based in the Uzbek capital of Tashkent, which assembles security and intelligence staff from its members and promotes closer co-operation through shared blacklists and enhanced extradition procedures for terror suspects.

If the SCO had remained as primarily a vehicle to further China's efforts to suppress Uighur separatism on its western flank, the chances are the organisation would have remained relatively obscure. However, its agenda has steadily crept beyond those beginnings and the SCO's gradually rising profile reflects the range of political and economic influences driving its major members, including the economic ambitions of China in Central Asia, Russia's determination to retain its influence in the region, Moscow's growing estrangement from the West, and the potential void that will be left behind when Nato finally pulls out of Afghanistan.

Each of these factors is likely to push the SCO further into the spotlight, but each also brings the growing prospect of disagreement and paralysis for the organisation thanks to the central issue that will ultimately decide its fate:





the competition and mutual suspicion that persists between Beijing and Moscow.

### Shifting towards Beijing

How likely is it that the organisation Erdogan appears to rank alongside the European Union, and that could soon include three of the four Brics, will emerge as a major new player in international relations?

“The main thing to recognise about the SCO is that there are fundamental disagreements between Russia and China over the organisation’s purpose and scope,” says Alexander Cooley, author of *Great Games, Local Rules: The New Great Power Contest for Central Asia* and Professor of Political Science at Barnard College, New York. “The Russians basically see the SCO as one of a number of institutions that they hope will develop a revisionist agenda against the West and against US influence.” The Chinese, by contrast, are focused far more on regional development and infrastructure investment both to help stabilise Xinjiang, the western province that has seen serious unrest among its Muslim Uighur population, most recently in 2009, and to create new markets for Chinese companies.

These two visions do not sit perfectly together. Russia has never wanted the SCO to form a central part of its security planning in Central

Asia, preferring instead the Collective Security Treaty Organisation, which it formed in 2002 with its Central Asian neighbours, says Alexander Gabuev, chair of the Russia in the Asia-Pacific Programme at the Carnegie Moscow Centre.

Neither Russia nor China, Gabuev says, would want to join an organisation that implied any sort of military alliance between them. So the SCO is highly unlikely to develop into any sort of alternative to Nato, especially not one that replicates Nato’s Article V, enshrining the principle that an attack on one member is an attack on all.

At the same time, China’s long-running efforts to extend the SCO’s work into areas of economic development have largely failed to gain traction, with proposals including an SCO development bank and a free trade zone taking a long time to go nowhere.

“Every economic proposal that the Chinese have offered, the Russians have considered, delayed and then mostly rejected,” says Cooley. “The Russians are uncomfortable with institutionalising China’s growing economic dominance of the region and instead they want to promote their own economic architecture, the Eurasian Economic Union.”

The proposal for an SCO development bank became stuck on the question of on what basis members would contribute capital, given that

### How the SCO is set to dwarf Europe

-  Countries of the Shanghai Co-operation Organisation
-  Set to join the SCO
-  Applied to become SCO observers
-  EU Countries





**Rising power: the Three Gorges dam, opened in 2003. The major over-capacity in infrastructure firms has sharpened desire to expand abroad**

any formula linked to GDP would give China 80%-plus or the organisation and de facto control.

Despite the SCO's failure to live up to China's hopes as a vehicle for economic development, the balance in economic diplomacy is shifting in favour of Beijing, enabling it to make progress outside the framework of the SCO and achieve many of its goals. In September 2013, having seen its proposal for an SCO development bank stall, China's president, Xi Jinping, conducted a 10-day official tour of Central Asia, signing a string of bilateral economic and business deals and using his visit to Kazakhstan to announce the "Silk Road Economic Belt", a bold proposal to finance and build roads, rail links, pipelines and other infrastructure across Central Asia and to create direct routes for Chinese exports to Europe.

The following month, Xi proposed a "Maritime Silk Road" focused on south Asia that is likely also to include major investments in ports. In April this year, China signalled another step in its "New Silk Road" plans with the announcement that it will invest \$62bn of its vast foreign exchange reserves in the project via two state-controlled banks. Coming alongside China's notable diplomatic coup this year in launching its Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank with the

support of around 50 nations including close US allies in Europe and elsewhere, the signs are that Beijing is not going to allow its inability to move its economic agenda forward via the SCO to stall its progress indefinitely.

Alexander Gabuev at the Carnegie Moscow Centre suggests that China's Silk Road plan does not necessarily reflect simple frustration with the SCO's paralysis. Another important factor is China's slowing economy, which is creating major over-capacity among Chinese infrastructure companies. In response, China is seeking to relocate industry to its western regions and create export markets for them through Central Asia.

"China definitely wanted a free trade zone in the SCO," says Gabuev. "But Russia and other countries are afraid they will be flooded with cheap Chinese goods and won't be able to impose tariff barriers, which is why they opted instead for the Eurasian Economic Union and are not letting China in. But the Silk Road may have this free trade zone component. Nobody knows whether it has or not, so everybody is waiting."

#### **No choice for Russia**

China's renewed efforts to advance its economic

**'The two countries undoubtedly share a desire to create an alternative world order that gives greater weight to the emerging non-Western powers'**





Discontented minority: China sees the SCO as a bulwark against Uighur unrest in the western province of Xinjiang

development plans coincide with the worst breakdown in relations between Russia and the West since the Berlin Wall fell in 1989. This leaves Russia, like Turkey's President Erdogan, needing to demonstrate that it has other international options apart from its fractured relationships with the US and Europe.

"There is no way back to business as usual for the foreseeable future," says Gabuev, "so people have started to realise that you have to do a pivot to Asia. And as Japan and South Korea are under pressure because they're US allies, your pivot to Asia turns out to be a pivot to China."

This combination of factors, observers suggest, helps to explain the situation now unfolding. On one hand, the rising profile of the SCO in large part reflects Russia's desire to put itself at the heart of an alternative international framework that is free of Western influence: a US application for observer status at the SCO was rejected in 2005.

The Russian Secretary-General of the SCO, Dmitry Mezentsev, spoke in February of the numerous countries that wanted to engage with the SCO, noting that Syria, Belarus, Armenia, Azerbaijan and Bangladesh had all applied for observer status, the level below full membership. "We value and appreciate these applications and

the interest in the organisation," Mezentsev told the SCO Press Club. "This shows that the SCO has gained credibility and influence in the region."

On the other hand, Russia's efforts to talk up the influence and reach of the SCO as part of its post-Ukraine international positioning are also forcing it to accept more or less reluctantly that China's growing economic dominance cannot be effectively constrained. Prof Cooley suggests that Russia, under pressure from Western sanctions, will acquiesce in the Chinese Silk Road plan "because they have no choice in the matter". He points out that Russia's \$400bn gas deal with China, signed late last year and portrayed as a sign of the growing co-operation between the two major non-Western powers, marked the end of a hard-fought negotiation in which China's existing bilateral relationships in Central Asia gave it an important edge.

"The Chinese used the cheap natural gas prices that they get from Turkmenistan to play off Gazprom during the negotiations over the East Siberian pipeline," he says. "That's a clear case where China's economic engagement in Central Asia really did impact Russia's core national interest." Moscow, however, had to put a brave face on the deal because of the need to





These plans coincide with the worst breakdown in relations between Russia and the West since the Berlin Wall fell in 1989



**Revolution in Ukraine: the breakdown since last year in relations between Russia and the West has forced the Kremlin to look for friends elsewhere**

signal it has options other than the West. Despite the clear gaps between the Russian and Chinese agendas, however, the two countries undoubtedly share a desire to create an alternative world order that gives greater weight to emerging non-Western powers. The practical difficulties of achieving this, however, even in the security sphere where the SCO counts most of its success to date are all too clear – as evidenced by a country that sits at the heart of the region the SCO aspires to unite: Afghanistan.

At the SCO's summit in July 2005 in the Kazakh capital, Astana, the leaders issued a joint statement that put the organisation properly on the radar in Western capitals for the first time. Their communiqué called openly for coalition forces engaged in Afghanistan to set a deadline for dismantling their bases in the neighbouring SCO member states. That same month, Uzbekistan gave the US six months to leave its soil.

A decade on, the prospect of Nato's forces finally departing is not met with any great relish, particularly given the emergence of Isis and reports that people with links to the jihadi organisation are turning up in Afghanistan. "Of all the members of the SCO you're seeing real concern over Afghanistan coming out," says Sarah Lain, research fellow at the Royal United Services Institute in London. "Even China is starting to do a tiny bit more in security support – not in the way that Russia would but for example they're helping to rebuild barracks for soldiers and police and supplying some limited training."

Alexander Gabuev says that during conversations with security officials in Moscow, Beijing and Central Asian capitals, he has encountered senior figures who believe that Isis is a creation of the CIA in partnership with Saudi intelligence, in the same way that the Afghan mujahideen movement that fought the Russians in the 1980s was heavily sponsored by the West.

"[They think Isis] is just there to spread instability and to weaken Iran, China and Russia, and that it's going to spread to Central Asia and create an arc of instability," he says. "I'm not sure that's what Putin or Xi Jinping thinks but there are people in official positions in our intelligence bureaucracy who have these views."

### **Filling Nato's boots**

The question of how the countries surrounding Afghanistan come together to address any security vacuum left by the departure of coalition forces is likely to loom large for the SCO's members in the near future and could easily expose the organisation's difficulties in turning statements into action.

"There's lots of dialogue and dialogue is great," says Sarah Lain. "But at some point with Afghanistan there needs to be action and no one really wants to fill Nato's boots in any way, so you wonder..." The default Chinese view that investment and economic stability will lead

eventually to political stability could prove unequal to the task facing the SCO in this case.

Where does all this leave the SCO, a largely unknown and to date relatively ineffectual organisation that may be on the brink of a rather higher profile around the world? The move to expand its membership can be interpreted in several ways. Starting the process of admitting India and Pakistan to full membership will allow the SCO to claim that it is an international organisation of growing importance, representing a major slice of the world population and economic output. This is largely the Russian agenda – with an unspoken dimension, as Lain puts it, to counteract the "increasing gap between Russia and China's position in the world" by bringing more countries to the table and so diluting China's influence. This is particularly true of India, which has traditionally been much closer to Moscow than Beijing.

From the Chinese perspective, the moment at which the SCO starts to expand and appear more significant internationally might in fact signal the opposite – that Beijing is finally giving up on the idea of the SCO as an organisation that will play a major role in its international diplomacy.

"My sense is that the new signalling that they're ready to admit India is in some ways an acknowledgment that they're not going to be able to do anything serious economically through this organisation," says Prof Cooley, "so they might as well increase its symbolic value by letting in India and Pakistan – which you have to do as a package deal – whereas before the Chinese had resisted India's application."

Whichever interpretation of the likely events at the summit in Ufa gains acceptance, however, this organisation and others like it will continue to fascinate observers in the West because of our abiding suspicion that the world order is slowly changing. "You sense both in academic and outside circles that there is this curiosity: what would a powerful, non-Western international organisation look like?" says Prof Cooley. "How would it be different? How would it be effective?"

Anyone seeking answers to these questions at the headquarters of the Shanghai Co-operation Organization on Ri Tan Lu in Beijing is unlikely to come away much the wiser. Its home turns out to be a small and rather decrepit building opposite the Polish embassy that resembles a down-at-heel budget hotel with grey Mitsubishi air conditioning units on the wall outside every window and cheap floral-pattern blinds, all of which were pulled. In front, the flags of the member states fly in the courtyard from highly-polished flagpoles and there are spaces for around 20 cars to park. All of them were empty on the day *Newsweek* visited. ■

*Additional reporting by Peter Leggatt*



### **Andy Davis**

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The G7 has agreed to phase out fossil fuels by century's end and Pope Francis has linked those fuels to a consumerism he deplores. Here Barry Lord argues the 'energy debate' is really the birth pang of a new culture

Newsweek  
essay





In August 2013, in an effort to convince the population of north-west England that “fracking” (drilling for shale gas) was good for them, British Prime Minister David Cameron assured everyone they would save several pounds on each month’s energy bill. Like Margaret Thatcher (who said “there is no such thing as society”) or George W Bush (who told Americans that the best response to 9/11 was to go shopping), Cameron believes he leads a nation of passive consumers. Justifying fracking - by then controversial due to earthquakes - on the basis of saving enough energy money to buy something more frivolous was the end of the argument as far as he was concerned.



But the Anglican Bishops meeting in Liverpool fired back that this was not about saving a few quid on energy bills. The real issue, they insisted, is our “responsibility as stewards of the Earth”.

This difference of opinion exemplifies a seismic cultural shift currently in progress: from a society based on consumerism to one that embraces stewardship and sharing. This shift will have far-reaching consequences for our economy and our personal lives. We are still in the early stages of the transition because consumerism is so strongly based on the oil and gas on which our world still depends. But as the use of renewable energy increases, so too grows the culture of stewardship.

Each energy source brings certain cultural values with it, either because of what we have to do to get it (as with coal) or by virtue of the attitudes and beliefs that it fosters (as with oil and gas). Coal gave us the industrial discipline of production; the apparent plenitude of oil and gas

gave us the expansive confidence of the early culture of consumption. Renewable energy brings with it a powerful message of stewardship and an abiding concern with sustainability. As renewable energy increasingly replaces fossil fuels, I believe stewardship will grow ever stronger and consumerism will decline ever further. The so-called “energy debate” is really a shift of cultures.

This shift can be seen in many ways and places. Last September in New York the Rockefeller Brothers Fund – yes, those Rockefellers – announced that it was divesting its accounts of fossil fuels. Wealth that Standard Oil created is now being used to support stewardship projects all over the world. In the same month, protesters were arrested for projecting “Koch = Climate Chaos” on the wall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at the inauguration of a new plaza funded by billionaire climate-change denier David Koch and his brother. The Koch brothers versus the Rockefeller brothers – a battle of titans.

The stakes are high. Consider Venice: already the water is above the stone foundations of that exquisite architecture, and it has begun to leach out the mortar between the porous bricks in the lowest courses. The rising damp is rusting out the iron tie-rods that hold the buildings together with the damage already visible in the 13th-century mosaics in the porch of the Basilica of St Mark's. The Consorzio Venezia Nuova is building flood barriers against storms, but they will not be able to restrain the rising waters as the polar ice cap melts.

Yet the Venice Port Authority continues to grant docking licences to the huge cruise ships (520 booked this year) that push their wakes still further into the magnificent but increasingly fragile structures along the Giudecca Canal, while the city raises small change for repairs by leasing advertising placards that mar St Mark's Square or the Bridge of Sighs. Can some Italian, EU or UN stewardship programme rescue la

Serenissima from its literal consumption by cruise ships and big-name brands?

The incoming culture of stewardship can be seen also in our daily lives. Many of us have learned to sort our recyclables from the rest of our rubbish, meet our transport or accommodation needs through the sharing economy and shop for organic foods that have been grown without chemicals. Although the early years were often characterised by negative demands

night to buy a new iPhone dwindles? What if the bottom falls out of the market for monster houses and gasoline-guzzling vehicles? Is even fashion imperilled? Will binge shopping someday no longer cheer us up?

### The shape of things to come

What will the incoming culture of stewardship look like? It's early yet, but the most obvious models may be found in

wind-farming Denmark and geothermal Iceland.

Politicians and executives are expected to arrive at work on their bicycles. Those who live further away make up car pools and drive hybrids, parking where they can plug them into electrical outlets. Both their cars and their homes are connected to a two-way grid, so that they can be providers as well as consumers of energy.

The sharing economy is an essential feature of stewardship. Since consumption is no longer a core value, ownership is secondary; availability for use is what matters, and people are surprisingly willing to share what they have at a reasonable price. So millions of rooms in homes and apartments all over the world are now available for rental through

Airbnb or its competitors. And to the distress of taxi companies, thousands of drivers are happy to make their cars available via Uber wherever that service has been legalised.

The nemesis of stewardship is waste. A US study concluded that as much as 40% of the food stockpiled in the average American refrigerator ends by being thrown away after it passes its best-before date. Americans' preference for centralised air conditioning (as opposed to room-by-room cooling in the rest of the world) means that millions of houses and apartment buildings in hot weather keep every cubic metre cool all day and night, whether they are occupied or not. The culture of stewardship has a long way to go, but the change we need is to a new attitude

People are  
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that we renounce our guilty pleasures, the real advantages of “green” living are now becoming apparent. The consumerist family model calls for each member to shop independently for her or his desired commodity. The stewardship ideal brings families closer together as everyone co-operates to save energy throughout the day and night. Though individualism may still flourish, the criterion of an individual's success will not be how much loot she or he has amassed but how effective each is in realising her/his potential to serve as a steward of the planet for the next generation.

Nevertheless, the economic consequences of reducing consumerist behaviour could be dire. What if the number of people willing to camp out all



that questions this profligate squandering of energy, esteems sustainability, and is willing to turn air-con off and on as we move from room to room or leave the house unoccupied.

The alternative to waste is sustainability, and it and stewardship have been most vigorously advanced by green architecture and urban planning. Greater downtown density and vertical growth are promoted instead of extending the suburban sprawl that the oil-powered automobile made possible.

That movement is global: as early as 2008 in San Francisco, Milan-based Renzo Piano's atelier created a two-acre living roof of gently sloping hillocks and porthole skylights for the California Academy of Sciences while, on the other side of the Pacific, Pritzker-prize-winning architect Wang Shu's Ningbo History Museum was completed with a million reused bricks and tiles in a traditional Chinese technique called "wapam". Five years later Piano went further, providing his addition to the Kimbell Art Museum in Fort Worth, Texas, with a sculptured insulating sod roof, 36 geothermal wells 460 feet deep, and aluminium louvres fitted with solar panels that are used to light the galleries by night. The Piano workshop's pavilion will use only half the energy per square foot of the original 1970s building, designed though it was by the great Louis Kahn.

Artists are often more aware of shifts in public consciousness than the rest of us. Even though their work is initially ridiculed, they may be creating the beginnings of the art of stewardship. It's indicative of the pace of the change under way that it has not taken long for some early attempts to be recognised as important works of art. As early as the 1960s in Italy arte povera anticipated the new culture by making art out of rubbish. In 1970 American sculptor Robert Smithson created his Spiral Jetty, a 1,500ft-long black basalt rock walkway into Utah's Great Salt Lake that inaugurated use of the now common term Earth Art. In 2003-4 Danish-Icelandic artist Olafur Eliasson crafted the genre's most popular piece to date, his Weather Project: a giant sun-like disc glowing through a golden haze of swirling mist that filled Tate Modern's huge turbine hall (a former oil-powered generating station). Young enthusiasts sprawled on the floor of the vast space, basking in the light and wind.



**A new world: the Weather Project by Danish artist Olafur Eliasson at Tate Modern**

### **The body is a cultural subject**

Equally important to the emergent culture accompanying renewable energy is stewardship of the body. While stewardship of the Earth is a long-range goal that one can share with many others, taking care of one's own body is much more personal and hopefully more manageable. The fitness industry is the major beneficiary of this concern. Fifty years ago only jocks hung out in the gym; now everyone feels that they ought to go for a regular work-out. A hyper-concern with what we put into our bodies is another result of this preoccupation; while vegans grow more numerous every day, restaurants advertise that their menus feature foods of local origin.

Attitudes to sex, which are inherently cultural, are among the beliefs and values about who we are that are most likely to be affected by this cultural shift. Where the consumer culture of the summer of love viewed sex as just another experience to be had as much as possible and enjoyed without risking procreation, the attitude to sex that is incoming with the new energy source clearly respects all varieties of sexuality, approaches casual encounters as an opportunity for exercise designed to keep body, mind and spirit fit, and is more likely to be concerned about the sustainability of a long-term relationship wherever the feeling is mutual.

Acceptance of public nudity is an intriguing correlative of stewardship of the body. Not only feminists are increasingly resistant to the packaging of our bodies as

consumables. Parents who think of themselves as stewards of their bodies recognise that an important part of the legacy they want to leave to their children is an easy acceptance of their physical reality and a refusal to accept the fetishism of "private parts". Photographer Spencer Tunick has no difficulty assembling hundreds or thousands of volunteers to strip for his panoramic pictures of naked humanity en masse in public places around the world. His pictures may appear outlandish now, but just like arte povera they may in future be recognised as harbingers of the incoming culture.

### **A political force**

Greens are the obvious political party of stewardship but most progressive alternatives routinely steal features of their platforms. Conservatives are likely to have greater trouble convincing voters of their green credentials, depending on the extent to which they are in league with Big Coal or Big Oil. For their part, many of these corporations are busy rebranding themselves as "energy companies" while developing profitable sidelines in renewables. Last October I was surprised to learn from the head of energy services for the city of Dallas that 8% of its electricity was already coming from the wind farms of northern and western Texas.

Some oil-rich governments can surprise us still more: in May the oil minister of Saudi Arabia announced to his colleagues from other oil-producing nations assembled in Paris that by mid-century his country hopes to replace its dependence on oil (currently 25% of all Saudi production) with wind and solar power, both of which are also abundant in Arabia.

The incoming culture is already a political force. Canada's province of Alberta is the home of the infamous tar sands, where Big Oil is exploiting reserves of the bituminous substance that has been called the dirtiest in the world. For 44 years, until the spring of 2015, the Conservative government of this province worked closely with the oil and gas companies, recently by paying Washington lobbyists to try to convince President Obama to give consent to the Keystone pipeline that would carry this product across middle America to low-wage refineries in Louisiana.

The last thing anyone - especially the oil companies - expected was the election of a Left-wing government by the voters of this

province, many of whom depend either directly or indirectly on fossil fuels for their livelihood. Yet that is what happened this spring, as oil prices plummeted and the provincial New Democratic Party vaulted from four to 54 seats, enough to form a majority government.

Commentators claimed it was a protest vote against the arrogance and complacency of the Conservatives, but the voters passed over several alternative conservative and liberal parties to endorse an NDP platform that proclaimed “jobs and energy”, insisting that it’s possible to take an environmentally responsible approach to both. New Premier Rachel Notley immediately indicated that while Alberta would continue to support pipelines across Canada the province was withdrawing support for Keystone and would no longer be paying those Washington lobbyists.

#### How we got here

How can I be so sure that stewardship will triumph? To answer that question, it is necessary to look more closely at the relationship between energy and culture.

“Culture” is notoriously difficult to define. It encompasses our behaviour, but also our beliefs and ideas about that behaviour. It can be physical, material, social, political or aesthetic. There are local, regional and national cultures, as well as cultures specific to gender, age or occupation. Everyone is likely to participate in multiple cultures, not just in a lifetime but often in the course of a single day.

But all these cultures depend on the energy sources that make them possible. We are the only species that uses energy sources other than the food we eat and each source of energy brings with it certain cultural values of its own, prioritising attitudes and convictions that we need to accept - not necessarily approve, but certainly accept. These fundamental values will be held in common by all the cultures that depend on that energy source - and energy transition is a powerful engine of cultural change.

The world changed substantially in the late 18th and 19th centuries for all those who lived in those countries where coal and the Industrial Revolution replaced the agrarian society that had preceded it. The British led the way by mining their “underground forest” of pit coal, inventing and perfecting the steam engines that made coal so effective as the means of mass



**Public nudity: Spencer Tunick assembles hundreds of volunteers for his “naked art”**

production processes far greater than anyone had ever imagined. As a result, wealth was no longer based on ownership of land; people were now defined in relation to the production process. The production culture that came with coal required an educated and highly disciplined work force with a strong work ethic - valuing work in and for itself. Among the results were public education and an expectation that self-disciplined adolescents would postpone sex until they were past the end of mandatory school age, as well as a ban on pre- or extra-marital sex and a horror of same-sex relationships.

Many people assume that because they are all fossil fuels, oil and gas have simply extended the coal-based culture of production. But oil and gas don’t require the disciplined work force of the coal mines or the steam-powered factories that depended on them. A relatively small group of workers, well informed by geologists, can drill the wells that bring the precious fuels to the surface. As long as the energy companies and governments can protect their pipelines, the focus of value shifts from production to consumption. Coal barons constantly worried about strikes, but OPEC meetings don’t discuss oil or gas workers; their agenda is focused on demand and supply, and the consequent price per barrel.

Just like stewardship today, this culture of consumption was initially hotly debated. It was in the 1960s that oil and gas began to replace coal as the main source of energy in many countries. Following the course of all

other energy transitions, the culture of consumption began to be generally accepted - not necessarily approved but certainly accepted - especially when we were all equipped with plastic (an oil product) credit cards (which started in America as gas station charge cards). People were no longer primarily defined in relation to the production process; citizenship now conveyed a responsibility to support the economy by shopping. For the past 50 years, the values of the culture of consumption have been taken as a given - not only by economists and politicians, but by most of us as well. Coal brought us universal education; oil and gas brought us universal credit.

The self-discipline demanded by coal and the industrial revolution was relaxed, culminating in the counter-culture that extended not just to commodities but much more profoundly to consumable experiences, and to which sex was just another such experience. Chemical-medical research made it possible for this particular experience to be enjoyed without risking procreation. The summer of love and the “sexual revolution” were the result.

Whereas alcoholic inebriation had been the favoured means of escape from industrial discipline, in the incoming culture of consumption, illicit drugs, which had formerly been indulged only by bohemian musicians or writers, now went mainstream as a way to alleviate the eventual boredom of being just a consumer. Timothy Leary urged young people especially to turn on and drop out. For older customers as well, consumption became not just a matter of buying a commodity but one of acquiring an experience. By the 1970s the “experience economy” was upon us.

Andy Warhol was the genius of the culture of consumption, already understanding its implications in the early 1960s. His brilliant use of the screened images of his portrait subjects - Marilyn, Jackie, Liz, Elvis or Mao - showed as surely as his Campbell’s soup cans and Brillo boxes that branding now defined personality. His colour variants on these images evoked the complete range of each repeated portrait’s character - Marilyn is sometimes sassy in pink or purple, but in other versions, often on the same canvas, she may be ominously darkened. We know why. Warhol also predicted that in the future everyone would be famous for 15



minutes: he understood that in the regnant culture of consumption something like YouTube was inevitable.

### What is going to happen next?

Renewable energy is still a long way from assuming dominance comparable to the role that oil and gas have played over the past century or that coal acquired before that. There are serious technical and financial problems in implementing renewables on the scale that we need them. Now that fracking has extended the life expectancy of our oil and gas dependence by at least several decades, the big energy companies and the governments that protect them have much less motivation to respond to these challenges.

Germany originally led the way, with the Reichstag passing a bill as early as the year 2000 that established a two-way grid, including payment to the owners of buildings that fed energy back into the system. As an early reward, German manufacturers initially led world production of solar panels. But the technical and financial challenges have mounted, China has taken over leadership in the production and export of solar panels, and in some extreme instances German industry has turned back to coal.

Energy transition takes decades, sometimes centuries, and the road ahead will not be straight and clear. One complication is the alternative of nuclear energy, which is indelibly associated with the culture of anxiety. It is, after all, the first energy source since fire to come to us as an agent of mass destruction.

China presents an interesting case that will be fascinating to watch as it evolves. Communist Party ideology originates with the culture of transformation that accompanied electrification. Yet statistically today the People's Republic remains dependent on coal (much of which comes from Australia or Mongolia), fostering a still disciplined working class with a powerful work ethic. But recently

China signed a multi-billion-ruble deal with Russia to import natural gas over the next 30 years.

At the same time China is installing lots of the solar panels that it manufactures, and is covering its western plains with vast wind farms. So each of the cultures that accompany these energy sources - production, transformation, consumption, and stewardship - are in contention.

China's stupendous economic success

The cultural values associated with each source of energy will continue to influence us in proportion to our dependence on that energy source

over the past three decades has provided ample disposable income to residents of the big cities, and has drawn many millions off the farms, ready to work for even a small proportion of an ever bigger bowl of rice. With so many having been raised from abject poverty to comparative affluence, it is not surprising that the culture of consumption prevails in the shops and on the streets of Shanghai, Beijing or the nation's other thriving cities.

But the culture of stewardship may not be long in coming: the government has announced that its long-term goal is a "circular economy," one in which every product will be recyclable, with all waste being reclaimed and the real energy costs of all manufacturing accounted for. The recent China-US discussion of an

agreement to pursue environmental goals together stands as a promising challenge that could point to a bright future for the culture of stewardship of the Earth if both countries will follow through with it.

As goes China, so goes the world. As long as we continue to use any energy source - including the ancient and earliest ones - the cultural values associated with each source of energy will continue to influence us in proportion to our dependence on that energy source.

The culture of consumption is not about to disappear, nor should it, given its importance in ameliorating the lives of millions in much of the developing world. Thanks to fracking, oil and gas will be available as much as we want it until at least mid-century.

On the other hand, global warming is real and the pressure to transition to renewable energy is urgent everywhere. If millions of Indians now riding bicycles start driving cars, and if the countries of the South start following the example of air-conditioned Singapore, the implications for survival of the planet make long-range optimism difficult. Yet who would deny India and other developing countries the opportunity to improve

the lives of their populations?

The inescapable conclusion is that it must be possible to sustain such global development with renewable energy, stimulating the culture of stewardship and gradually reducing the culture of consumption to the status of a quaint habit that characterised the very peculiar people who lived in the latter part of the 20th and the first few decades of the 21st century. It may or may not be a brave new world, but it has to become a sustainable one. ■

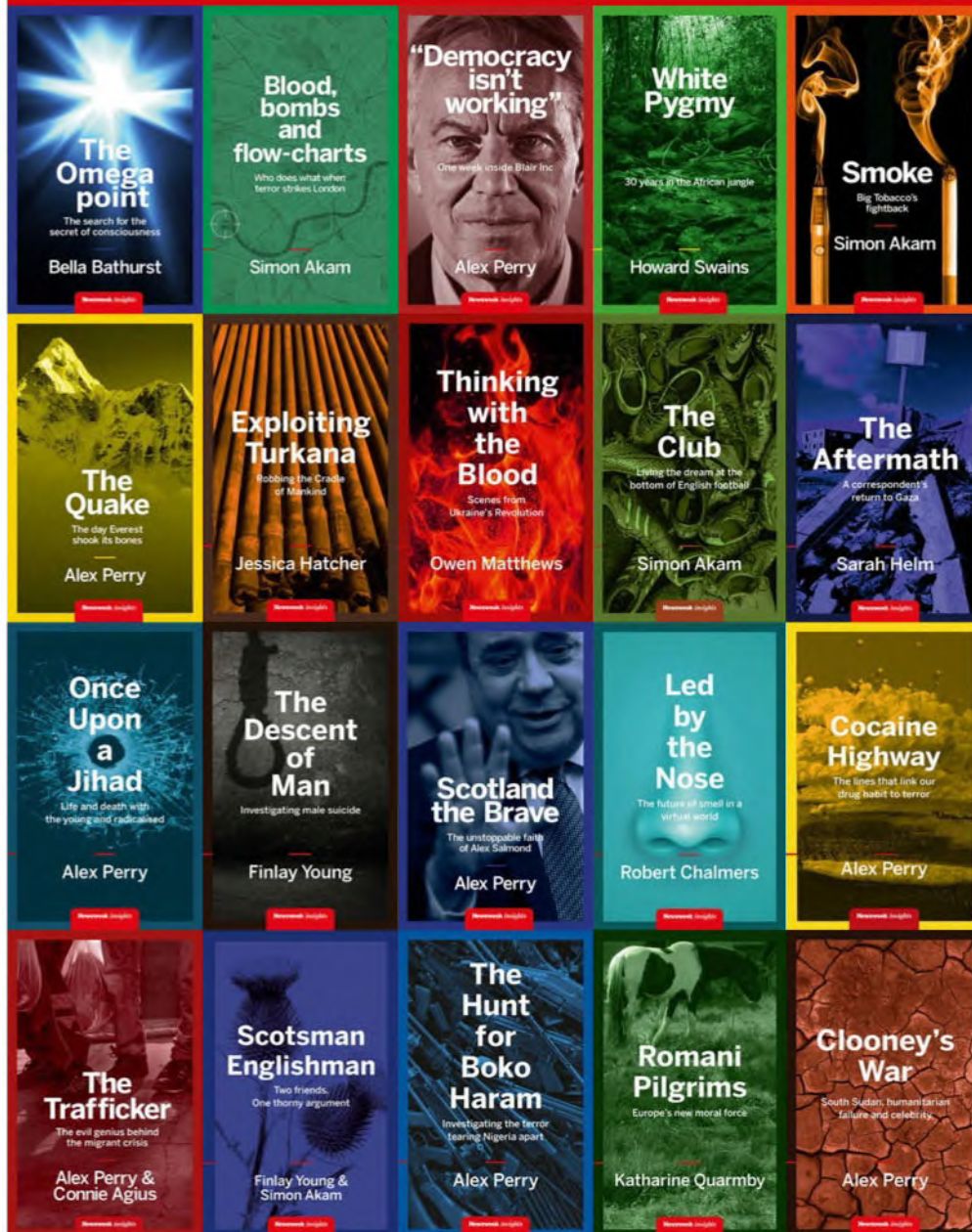


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# WEEKEND

TRAVEL | FILM | KIT | ART | COLLECTING | BOOKS | FASHION | CULTURE | MY WEEKEND



## 'Little Kyoto' and the marshes of gold 54

### FILM

Benicio Del Toro  
wows as the  
cocaine baron  
Pablo Escobar

57



### COLLECTING

After the Charleston  
massacre, a nation  
has fallen out of love  
with the Rebel flag

60

### BOOKS

Kim Kardashian  
elicits the wrath  
of Nobel laureate  
Mario Vargas Llosa

62

ALAMY



# GENUINE JAPAN

With its teahouses, geisha girls and ornamental gardens, Kanazawa – the ‘Little Kyoto’ – is a world away from Japanese cities that feel like touristic theme parks



If you think a trip to Japan is all about the hyper-futurism of its megacities, head to

Kanazawa for a more enlightening experience. Known as “Little Kyoto” for its preserved teahouse districts, Kanazawa was until relatively recently a difficult place to reach, the journey involving a long schlep on an ancient railway line whose engines trundled through the countryside at a snail’s pace.

The arrival of the bullet train in March means the journey is now quick and easy from both Tokyo and Osaka, putting the city within reach of even the most casual traveller without much time on his hands, though, as there is much to experience, a longer stay in the city will be amply rewarding.

Since one of the nation’s most impressive ornamental gardens is here, along with a massive medieval castle and a top-class modern art museum, Kanazawa holds plenty of picturesque appeal. A unique culinary culture, some bohemian backstreets and a shockingly grungy nightclub district are other reasons why this easily navigable city of Central Honshu should be on every traveller’s wish list. Hot-spring towns and the rugged Noto Peninsula are within spitting distance too.

The name Kanazawa means “marsh of gold” and refers to the myth of a peasant who

discovered gold flakes when washing his foraged potatoes at a local well, and the city has been an important site for gold-leaf handicrafts for the past 400 years, along with silk-dyeing and lacquerware. The “Little Kyoto” tag is partly a reference to geisha, since the historic teahouse districts that line the town’s twin rivers are still frequented by geisha today; in fact, Kanazawa is the only place outside Kyoto where geisha are still trained traditionally.

The best chance of sighting geisha comes in the highly atmospheric Higashi Chaya, on the banks of the Asanogawa River in the northeast of the city; to meander through this characterful area of ancient wooden teahouses in the twilight of an evening is mightily evocative, especially with the river reflecting the hues of the setting sun.

On the south side of the Ohashi Bridge, the Kazuemachi Chaya district is equally riveting, with a few of the old houses offering examples of locally produced fine art.

In contrast, the smaller Nishi Chaya, located near the Saigawa River at the city’s southern edge, feels like a much more lived-in neighbourhood, despite the smattering of old tea houses that survive there. Yet, compared to the Disneyfied feel of Kyoto’s Gion, where you are more likely to find tourists in geisha outfits than geisha themselves, Nishi

Chaya comes up trumps on the authenticity front. It gives a sense that this city of 465,000 people has managed to adapt to changing times, rather than devolving to become a touristic theme park.

Smack-dab in the middle of town are the dual delights of Kanazawa Castle and its attendant gardens, Kenroku-en. The castle had its heyday in the mid-16th century, and although much of it was destroyed by fire in 1888, the buildings that remain and the Ishikawa Gate that frames its entryway are mightily impressive, giving a sense of how important Kanazawa was during an era when it was Japan’s fourth largest city.

Over the road from Ishikawa, Kenroku-en, the “Six Aspects Garden”, is rightly ranked one of the three Great Gardens of Japan. Most Japanese visitors to the city head straight here,

and once inside, it’s easy to understand why.

Developed over a 200-year period by the Maeda clan, who once ruled from Kanazawa Castle, the sprawling garden’s name denotes the six horticultural elements that make it so captivating, namely spaciousness, seclusion, artifice, antiquity, waterways, and panoramic views.

Home to more than 180 species of plant and some 8,750 trees, all of which are laid out with an incredible amount of devotion to detail, it also features the oldest water fountain in



Classic views: Kanazawa’s Kenroku-en

Japan that operates by natural pressure, as well as the Ganko-bashi or “Flying Geese Bridge”, its red stones displayed to resemble a flock of the winged creatures in flight, and the Kotoji-toro, a two-legged stone lantern that is an iconic representation of the city. One could easily spend the better part of a day here, such is the scope of the place.

A short stroll away from Kenroku-en, and you reach another realm entirely, with Kanazawa’s version of the Tate Modern, the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art. Housed in a tastefully constructed circular glass building with an appropriately futuristic sheen, the Museum’s permanent collection dates from 1980 onwards, Leandro Erlich’s *The Swimming Pool* and



## While you’re there

**Visit the Shima Geisha House in Higashiyama, the design of which hasn’t changed since its opening in 1820**





is one of the three Great Gardens of Japan, and its geishas are often spotted on the streets

Anish Kapoor's *L'Origine du Monde* being among the most noteworthy pieces.

Being a culture vulture leads to a hungry belly, so it's time to search out Kanazawa's creative cuisine. A visit to the bustling Omicho Ichiba market at the lunch hour reminds how close we are to the Sea of Japan, with

an array of ultra-fresh fish and seafood on offer. After sampling sea urchins, oysters, and what I later learned was eel's liver, I feasted on clam soup along with conch and prawn sashimi at one of the many small eateries that fringe the space. All over the city, dinner was equally delightful:

at a series of small, informal restaurants, I ate exquisite Kaga-ryori dishes such as hamachi kama (broiled yellowtail collar), sazae no tsuboyaki (giant turban shell, grilled at the table), steamed kurodai (the regional sea bream), and the wholesome yet otherwise unknown vegetables

that make up the local Kaga-yasai delicacies, such as hyacinth beans, shungiku leaves and taro stems.

After dinner I made regular pilgrimages to Katamachi, a convoluted warren of nightlife backstreets squeezed between the city's main shopping district of Korinbo and the northern bank of the Saigawa. There are dozens of dicey booze spots here, some of which are crammed into anonymous-looking tower blocks, and each has a particular bent, from the Stratocaster excesses of the Sturgis Rock Bar to the Caribbean theme of Natty One. Just beware of places offering dubious floorshows, and avoid the "hostess" clubs at all cost.

Though sake and whiskey are the city's most popular tipples (head to Itaru Honten for the former, Machrihanish for the latter), beer hounds also have a niche in this city since Korinbo Jibiruba offers at least eight craft ales on tap, several of which are brewed locally; friendly staff make drinking a pleasure here, and there's nary a tattoo or hipster beard in sight.

With cherry blossoms in spring, illuminated paper lanterns and fireworks on the river in summer, stunning foliage displays in autumn, and an acrobatic new year's parade in winter, you can come to Kanazawa at any time of the year and be assured of experiencing something special. And with the bullet train's ability to whisk you there in a flash, there's now more reason to do so than ever.

## Field Guide

**How to get there:** Direct bullet trains from Tokyo and Osaka each take two and a half hours.

**Where to stay:** Avoid business hotels near the train station and find a traditional ryokan in Higashi Chaya; alternately, a few hotels near the castle have on-site hot spring baths.

**What to eat:** Sea of Japan delicacies are unmissable here, and Kaga-yasai vegetables make fine accompaniments.

**Don't miss:** Aside from Kenroku-en, the 21st Century Museum of Contemporary Art and the geisha districts, the Ishikawa Prefectural Museum

for Traditional Products and Crafts has fine examples of local craftwork, while vinyl heads will savour a visit to the Kanazawa Phonograph Museum.

**Nearby diversions:** Yuwaku hot springs is 40 minutes by bus; rent a car to explore the scenic Noto peninsula.



**By David Katz**  
Author of *Solid Foundation: An Oral History of Reggae*

@dubmealways





# SIN CITY COMES TO MANHATTAN

A weekend in New York coinciding with the night of the big fight proves that this is still the finest three-day town on Earth

It was the beginning of a hot weekend in May and the night of a big fight. Though the fight itself was in Las Vegas, New York had a cacodaemonic whiff. The screens and the bars and the fans were on edge. Sin City had come to Manhattan and taken possession of its public spaces. The sophisticated, the refined and the people with small children were staying indoors.

It was a good start. The quest a few weeks earlier in London had been where to *rifi*. *Rifi* is the French slang for macho tough-guy posturing. The word was made famous by a 1955 film noir about a jewellery heist gone wrong, *Du rifi chez les hommes* by Jules Dassin, based on a novel of the same name by Auguste Le Breton. Five years ago, Dassin explained that the word comes from the North African tribe, the Rifs, who were always fighting: "so it's all about mêlées and conflicts".

The man on the phone at reception said he could get a table in a bar with pay TV for \$3,000 with drinks on top. Or you could turn left out of the hotel and walk five minutes down Broadway to a sports bar and bribe the security guy. The security guy would let you in for \$40. You should get there two hours early otherwise you would be so far from the screen you might as well be in the street.

All Europeans of a certain age must occasionally tire of effete old civilisations and their medieval cobwebs. That is when we need to fly to the city of reckless



The capital of *rifi*: the view from The Viceroy's rooftop and, below, the Mayweather-Pacquiao bout

prodigality for a boost. Of the four great supercities New York, London, Paris and Tokyo, only New York these days can claim to be the world capital of *rifi*. That is very little to do with the Mayweather title fight. It has everything to do with the streets of Manhattan.

True, Manhattan is calmer these days. Despite the fact that shootings in the city have been rising again - there were 98 deaths by gunfire the month I was there, up from 69 in May 2014 - New York claims to be the safest city in America. But the flavours are just as strong as ever: mustard and tabasco sauce. And it's still the finest three-day town on Earth.

"Whoyousaygonnawin?" The words came out in one rising note, a shriek, like that of the great horned owl, accompanied by a crushing embrace.

The source was a man who must have been seven foot tall. His name was Dwyane like the basketball player Dwyane Wade (aka D-Wade). We were at the front row of a bar with eight screens on the wall. For the 90 minutes of the undercard and the duration of the big fight Dwyane was a brother, a soul-mate, a personal screech owl and boa constrictor.

But when it was clear in round 11 that Floyd Mayweather would beat Manny Pacquiao it seemed a good idea to leave. Testosterone filled the glutinous night like gelignite. Rarely had anything felt so good as to turn into the soothing embrace of The Viceroy New York - the perfect base for adventure, plumb in the centre of midtown on West 57th between 6th and 7th Avenues, and less than 10 minutes' walk from Central Park, the Carnegie Hall, the Lincoln Center and about a zillion shops, bars and restaurants.

The lift was crowded. It was a

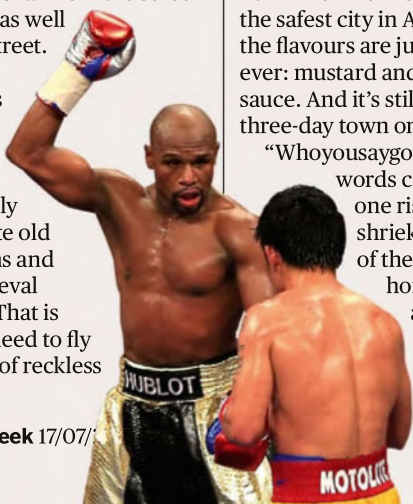
bunch of people on their way to the rooftop bar. Being New Yorkers they said come and join us. They said it was the best view in Manhattan, even at night. The spirit was willing but the flesh was weak. Reader, the spirit won. And the view was amazing.

By Rick Shackleton

## Field Guide

**Where to sleep:** A double room at The Viceroy New York starts from \$415 / €371 (with tax and breakfast). Visit [viceroyhotelsandresorts.com/newyork](http://viceroyhotelsandresorts.com/newyork).

**What to read:** *Here is New York* by E.B. White (1948). An account of the author's stroll around Manhattan. The *New Yorker* calls it "the wittiest essay, and one of the most perceptive, ever done on the city".





# AT THE COURT OF THE COCAINE KING

The charismatic and generous Pablo Escobar exported drugs by the tonne and killed people by the thousand. In this biopic, a naive tourist falls under his spell



**Rudolph Herzog**  
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“When you enter the town, a man will come up to you and ask for a number. You will answer ‘72’.” Such is the opening gambit of a plan which involves driving up a mountain with the stranger, hiding a treasure in an old mine shaft, then shooting the unsuspecting guide in the head. “Don’t talk to him too much beforehand, that will make killing him easier,” advises Pablo Escobar, Colombia’s notorious drug baron (Benicio Del Toro).

The man he instructs could hardly be less suitable for the task: Nick (Josh Hutcherson) is not a contract killer but a Canadian surfer who had the misfortune of losing his heart to Escobar’s niece Maria (Claudia Traisac). A boy-next-door not cut out to be a member of Latin America’s most dangerous clan, the young man finds himself trapped in a bloody war between Escobar’s cartel and the Colombian government. While the unfortunate hero of Andrea Di Stefano’s directing debut *Escobar - Paradise Lost*, is fictional, the historical backdrop is not.

In his heyday Pablo Escobar made an estimated €30bn a year, ranking seventh in the list of the world’s richest people. A



**Family man: Pablo Escobar as played by Benicio Del Toro**

ruthless criminal who saw nothing in blowing up a fully manned airplane, he also built hospitals and 5,000 houses for the poor. The subject of much veneration, he dabbled in opera singing and politics. His lavish estancia sported a private zoo with giraffes and elephants and his private army included 3,000 hitmen. Celebrated by many Colombians as a modern-day Robin Hood, he had more than 6,000 people murdered in a single year. The man who exported as much as 15 tonnes of cocaine to America per day (!) was full of dizzying contradictions: greedy yet generous, narcissistic yet selfless, affectionate yet murderous.

Playing such a singular character is tempting for any serious actor, and Benicio Del Toro meets this challenge with awe-inspiring perfection. He walks the line between the hugely likeable teddy-bear Escobar seemed to his loved ones and the merciless don he was to others. Later on, when government forces are closing in on him, Del Toro’s Escobar

has the air of a persecuted saint. Nick falls under the spell of this extraordinary character. Bright and fresh-faced, he seems the exact opposite of someone who might embark on a criminal career. He comes to Latin America to help his brother run a beachside bar for surfers.

Nick falls in love with Escobar’s niece. Maria has the angelic sweetness of a princess, combined with the personal magnetism that runs in her family. In her world view, she is perfectly in line with her uncle, seeing cocaine as simply

“Colombia’s national product”. Shocked when he realises he has eloped with the niece of the world’s most wanted criminal, Nick can’t help being dazzled by the uncle’s incredible wealth, power and pizzazz.

Escobar is fatherly to the young man, flattering him with his attention and helping Nick’s brother with thugs trying to extort him. Settling in as a prince in the uncle’s empire, Nick comes to feel complicit in the older man’s crimes. When the battle between the drug cartel and the government heats up and the US moves to help in the manhunt, he is pulled into a vortex of evil and destruction.

While the film takes an act or two to grind into gear, both the action and stand-offs of the second half make gripping viewing. At every twist one feels inclined to shout to Nick to finally quit, but the witchcraft of Maria’s love keeps him put, readying him for Escobar’s horrific deeds. As the lines between hunter and hunted, good and evil, criminal and saint get increasingly blurred, the young Canadian comes to realise that he has himself become one of the unfortunate men whom Escobar judges “dispensable”.

## Sympathy for the evil

There are moments in *Escobar: Paradise Lost* in which one unwittingly pities the criminal. Considering the incredible carnage Escobar was responsible for, one might easily blame the filmmaker for being manipulative. Yet showing evil people in their most vulnerable and personal moments drives home an important truth: even a

murderous psychopath is not a monster, but a human like everyone else. This makes films such as *Downfall* or *The Silence of the Lambs* so resonant. We need to come to terms with our capacity for evil that, unfortunately, has nothing to do with the creepy otherness of fairytale ogres, but with our make-up as human beings.

### When and where

**On release across some European countries and the US. DVD release elsewhere.**

# BOOTS MADE FOR WALKING

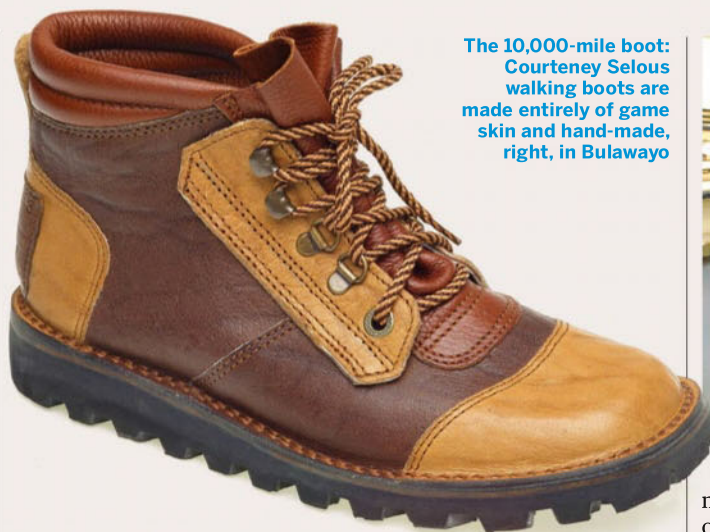
Follow in the footsteps of a great explorer, wear half a century of horological history and marvel at a minuscule miracle keyring

**Graham Boynton**

🐦@BoyntonTravels

In a world of new tech, lightweight synthetic fibres and moulded footwear machine-finished in Asian sweatshops, it is refreshing to find a product that is organic, handmade and thoroughly exceptional in performance. Courteney Selous walking boots are made in Bulawayo in Zimbabwe and are slowly gaining popularity in Europe and the US. They are already must-have walking gear for safari guides from Botswana through to Kenya - one hunting guide applied a pedometer on his hunts and when his pair of Courteney's gave up after 14 seasons he had walked more than 10,000 miles.

They are named after the great hunter-conservationist Frederick Courteney Selous and each pair comes with a range of appropriate accessories (a numbered game-skin pouch containing pure beeswax polish, brush, spare laces, spare insoles) and a replica newspaper that charts



The 10,000-mile boot: Courteney Selous walking boots are made entirely of game skin and hand-made, right, in Bulawayo



the life of Selous up to his death in what was Tanganyika in 1917.

The boots are constructed entirely of game skin - my pair is made from buffalo skin with impala-skin interiors - and are hand-stitched to form tough uppers with the soft impala-skin padded collar surrounding the ankle and lower calf. They also come in elephant, hippopotamus and kudu hides. Buffalo leather differs from cowhide in thickness and

flexibility, and it absorbs and releases moisture, which makes the boots comfortable in both summer heat and winter cold. The vamp is reinforced with overstitched heel- and toe-boxes and the entire upper is attached to a rubber "tyre tread" sole.

For me these substantial tyre tread soles are the making of Courteney boots, and over many years tramping across uneven moorlands in Europe or rutted bushveldt in Africa,

the boots have always given me a sure-footedness that other walking boots haven't provided. And as with all great pieces of kit you must understand there is a certain amount of pain to be endured before you become fully integrated with your new Courteney's. It took a few days of blisters and discomfort before they were worn in but after that fitted like a pair of soft leather gloves. They are available through Westley Richards ([westleyrichards.com](http://westleyrichards.com)) and cost around €390.

## Seiko Marinemaster Professional 1,000m Diver's Hi-Beat Limited Edition SBEX001

It is 50 years since Seiko made its first dive watch and to celebrate the Japanese watch company has released the Seiko Marinemaster Professional 1,000m Diver's Hi-Beat Limited Edition SBEX001. This is, as the lengthy name implies, a limited edition watch of just 700 pieces. There are many references to the original Seiko dive watch



innovations - titanium case, accordion-style strap, two-layer case construction and, most significantly, the ISO 6425 standard for dive watches. (This means the watch is guaranteed to handle depths of at least 100m as well as an extra 25% if the water is completely static.) For €6,400 you'll be able to take part in horological history and own a rather special timepiece.

## Wondercube

Wondercube is a minuscule miracle of modern technology. It is a 2.5 cm<sup>3</sup> keyring that weighs just 20 grams and is designed to function as a multi-form accessory for your iOS or Android smartphone. It has eight useful smartphone tools including a lightning/micro-USB connector, a micro-suction phone stand, a MicroSD card capable of holding up to 64GB, a LED torch, and an emergency charger. Most interesting is the charging function - you open the top of the

Wondercube and an adaptor for a standard 9V battery reveals itself. Clip in the battery, plug it into your phone and you've got another three-and-a-half hours of conversation. And you can also have your name or a message engraved on the cube as an added treat. It will be available from the middle of August via Indiegogo and will range in price from €41 to €83 depending on memory size.





# A LIFETIME OF COLOUR

Sonia Delaunay rushed into the arms of the modern world, embracing its every aspect with boldly polychromatic vision



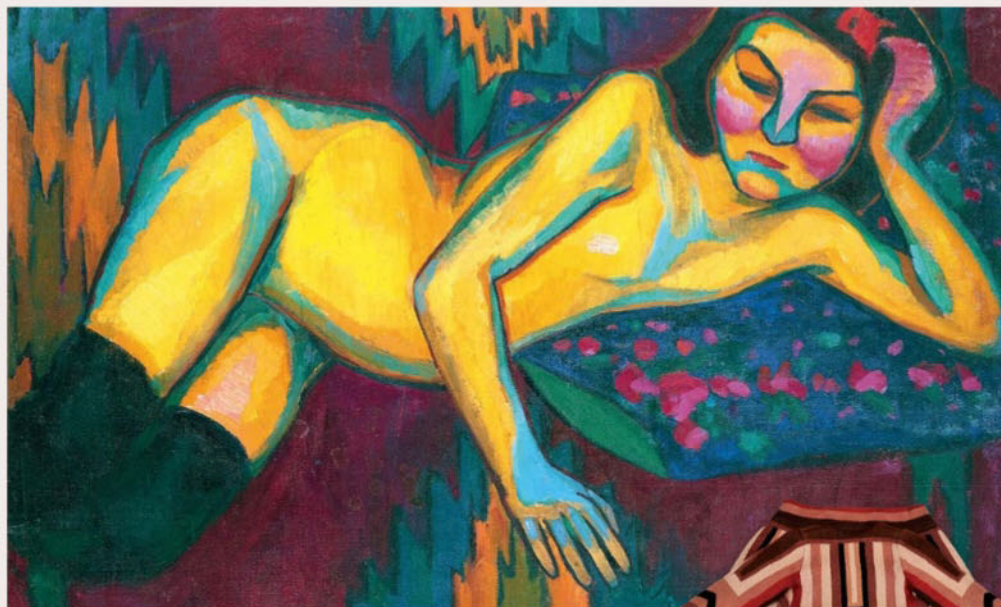
**Nick Foulkes**  
n.foulkes@newsweek.com

Female artists are quite the thing at the moment: Barbara Hepworth is at the Tate, Eileen Cooper is having a show at the RA and a lot of razzmatazz surrounds the all-female New Hall Art Collection at Murray Edwards College, Cambridge.

I am ambivalent about viewing art through the lens of gender specificity. But if doing so means positive discrimination in our museums and more shows like the Sonia Delaunay show at Tate Modern, there's much to be said for it.

As well as being a pioneer of abstraction, Delaunay is something of a standard bearer in the history of female art; she was the first living woman artist to have a retrospective at the Louvre, where her work and that of her late husband Robert was exhibited in 1964. Three years later there was a full retrospective at the Musée Nationale d'Art Moderne. Of course she had the good fortune to live a long life, from 1885 to 1979.

Sorry to have missed this show when it ran at the Musée d'Art Moderne de la Ville de Paris, I was delighted to get a second chance to catch it when it transferred to Tate Modern, where I spent a very engaging afternoon strolling among the



**"Colour brings me joy": Sonia Delaunay's Yellow Nude (1908) and, right, her Coat Made for Gloria Swanson (1923-24)**

bright and cheering works of a woman brought up in the intellectual circles of St Petersburg's haute bourgeoisie before settling in France.

This show offers the opportunity to survey the work of the artist without intrusive over-curation or juxtaposition of art from different periods and schools. Nor is there over-reliance on technology. Often I feel technology is used to smear a film of modernity onto an exhibition. I was amused upon exiting the Leonardo show in Milan to come across a room in which people were wearing virtual reality headsets and experiencing, as far as I could gather, the Renaissance in 3D, just as da Vinci himself would have found it had he had some computer gaming equipment.

Judged against these standards the Delaunay show is a traditional offering that leads the visitor through a diverse body of work in the order of creation. In

the first, early room one sees the influence of Nolde, Kirchner, Gauguin et al in vibrant portraits: boldly polychromatic paintings that prefigure a creative lifetime exploring the possibilities of colour.

What comes across is the infectious pleasure with which Delaunay rushed into the arms of the modern world, whether the early 20th-century mania for the tango, the effect of electric light, modern styles of dress or the rise of aviation. She saw no division between fine and applied arts and did not restrict herself to painting but extended her ideas to home furnishings and fashions; I found myself coveting a shawl-collared cardigan-like lounge jacket.

She designed for the stage and film, opened shops and illustrated books, such as a very striking volume of Tristan Tzara's poems. And of course her work was exhibited at the



1925 Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et Industriels Modernes, which would later come to define the period and bequeath us the term Art Deco.

What this show does so well is capture the sense of artistic mission that spilled over from art into all aspects of modern life. She appears to have been equally happy working on a bright colourful canvas or a costume for a ball.

Fabrice Hergott, the director of the Museum of Modern art in Paris, begins his thoughtful preamble to the catalogue with a quote from the artist that this exhibition admirably captures: "Everything is feeling, everything is real. Colour brings me joy."

**When and where**  
**Sonia Delaunay is at Tate Modern, London until 9 August**

# THE BANNER TAINTED BY BLOOD

The Charleston massacre has renewed debate about finally lowering the Confederate flag, but auctioneers know it is already losing its power to move the American South

It was April 1865 and the Union had just declared victory. A Rebel soldier with the 9th Virginia Cavalry was preparing to admit defeat and hand over his weapons to once-rival forces. He kept only the clothes on his back and, in a final act of revolt, hid a Confederate battle flag on his person by tying it around his torso. More than a century later, the flag was deemed one of the rarest relics from the Civil War and sold for \$82,000 at auction.

For years, the Confederate flag served as a mostly silent symbol, for some of the Antebellum South, for others of states' rights, for memorabilia enthusiasts as purely an antiquity and for white supremacists, as a reminder of what could've been. The flag captivated America all over again when Dylann Roof shot nine African-Americans dead in Charleston in the middle of Bible study. Roof was a white supremacist, leaving a racist manifesto packed not only with his bigotry but also with photographs of himself carrying the Confederate flag, posing

in front of a Confederate museum and visiting a Confederate cemetery.

Legislators rushed to debate whether the flag ought to be torn down from statehouses - especially that in South Carolina - and taken off businesses' shelves. Collectors shifted nervously in their seats.

Experts estimate only between 20 and 50 Confederate battle flags exist on the private market today. These battle flags, also called the Rebel flag and colloquially called the Confederate flag, are marked by the blue "X" in the centre, covered in white stars. Though this flag is the one primarily associated with the Confederacy today, in reality, it was the battle flag of the Army of Northern Virginia, used at war, and had been rejected from becoming the official flag of the seceded nation. Four other flags were used by the Confederate United States, all variations of the American flag and oft referred to as the "Stars and Bars". Nonetheless, the battle flag remains most commonly associated with the Rebel south.

These battle flags were often destroyed by Union soldiers following a battle that went in

their favour. Others were turned over to the United States Congress and eventually made their way into the Museum of the Confederacy. The rest eventually wound up at auction, though a rare few are believed to be with the families of the soldiers who held onto them after the war.

But Confederate flags aren't what they used to be. Memorabilia experts, speaking in hushed tones and polite voices, describe the Confederate market as "softening". In other words, sales of Confederate memorabilia are plummeting.

In 2007, a Confederate flag in moderate condition commanded \$77,000 at the Heritage Auction house in Dallas, Texas. A similar flag brought only \$50,000 in 2010. "Had it sold at the same auction in 2007, it would've been in the \$77,000 price range as well," explains Marsha Dixey, consignment director for Heritage Auctions, the largest house in the US.

Although the economic crisis contributed to the downturn, the generation that typically collected Civil War memorabilia in general - and Confederate flags in particular - is also dying out. Moreover, they're not being replaced by a new generation of collectors, as the period fails to resonate with younger collectors as it once did. The culture is changing, and the backlash against South Carolina's statehouse

Confederate flag following the Charleston shooting is part

of a much greater shift. "I don't know if it's just a thing of being politically correct," says Dixey. "Maybe younger people as they come up are not engaging in the Confederate collectibles. They more commonly collect from other wars. The community of collectors of Confederate items is greying."

And it's greying rapidly. According to several experts consulted by *Newsweek*, collectors of Confederate memorabilia tend to be in their late sixties to late seventies. "A 40-year-old is not as interested as an older person who remembers their grandfather talking about the war," Dixey explains. Younger collectors may be seeking items from more recent wars instead.

Michael Collins, executive director of the Civil War Antiques Preservation Society, tells *Newsweek* that the drop-off "has a lot to do with political change, especially with what happened recently with Charleston. That flag should never have been flying on the statehouse, it's a battle flag and that sends the message you are going against the Union".

In Collins' experience, one of the more obvious examples of a cultural move away from Confederate flags has been in the policies of auction houses. Auction houses often specify what kind of items they will and will not sell: ivory and looted items are commonly prohibited. The largest and most notable auction houses in the world, Sotheby's and Christie's, rarely deal in Confederate flags. Sotheby's did not reply to requests for comment regarding its Confederate flag sales policy but Collins noted that the auction house had once called him to handle the

**Flying the flag: rebels attack Fort Sanders, Tennessee in 1863**







Remembrance: a horse-drawn carriage carries the casket of murdered pastor Clementa Pinckney past the South Carolina statehouse

private sale of a Confederate flag that they did not want to put it up for public auction. “They want to make it clear they do not agree with the philosophies associated with the flag being offered up for sale,” he explains. “But a lot of the times, they just won’t handle it at all.” As for Christie’s, the auction house last sold a Confederate flag in 2013 and, before that, in 1999. Neither was a Rebel flag.

Without the biggest auction houses for competition, two primary houses have

established themselves as the rulers of the Civil War market: Heritage and James D Julia Inc in Fairfield, Maine. Heritage is best known for selling the personal battle flag of JEB Stuart, one of the most famous cavalry officers of the Civil War. It went for \$956,000 in 2006.

Though James D Julia sells only about 3,000 items a year, those 3,000 are among the finest collectibles in the world. In October, the house will auction a particularly unusual Confederate flag, rare as it was the only one known to have been carried by Confederate soldiers and Marines during the war. John Sexton, one of the nation’s leading experts in Confederate memorabilia, estimates that even in the softened market, this particular flag could bring as much as

\$250,000. “The market can never really hurt rare and desirable objects, even if there’s a lack of interest and lack of demand,” he explains.

Whether the Charleston church shooting and the debates that followed will permanently put the Confederate flag beyond the pale is yet to be seen. Those in the auction industry think not. “Confederate flags are still pieces of history,” argues Sexton. “It’s a shame some racist fool used a mass-produced prop in his violence. But this is still a great, iconic piece of American history that turned out to be on the losing side.”

Auction house owner James D Julia would not consider banning the flag from sale, just as he has not banned the sale of Nazi memorabilia. “From the

standpoint of historic relics, both Nazi and Confederate items have historical significance. I deal in historical items, not symbols,” Julia explains. “People who buy these things are institutions, museums, major collectors. They are not reinventing the pre-Civil War South.

“I understand why some firms don’t handle them - because it’s not politically correct. But if we did this with relics of every generation that happened before us, we would have no history left. We would know nothing.”



**By Polly Mosendz**

Breaking news reporter for Newsweek, originally from Kiev, Ukraine

🐦@polly

“  
It’s a flag that sends  
the message you  
are going against  
the Union

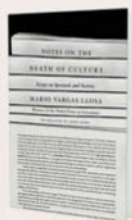


# BRAIN DEAD

Nobel laureate Mario Vargas Llosa considers our culture to have degraded to such frivolity that it confuses entertainment with thought. Is he right?

## Notes on the Death of Culture: Essays in Spectacle and Society

by Mario Vargas Llosa  
Faber & Faber (£20)



Culture is dead. Culture is as dead as a door nail. The slowly tolling bell that resounds though this polemic by the Nobel Prize-

winning novelist Mario Vargas Llosa may come as a surprise to those busily taking in concerts, exhibitions, the latest plays and prize-winning novels. But the act of engaging with culture, says Vargas Llosa, does not make you cultured: it is more likely to mean that you are a cultural tourist for whom proximity to such things replaces the need for serious interest.

Vargas Llosa's title is lifted from T.S. Eliot's iconic *Notes on the Definition of Culture* (1948) and the subtitle is a reference to Guy Debord's landmark *Society of the Spectacle* (1967). *Notes on the Death of Culture* is in conversation with both these texts, but nothing Vargas Llosa says is as sharp or as stimulating as a single sentence by Eliot or Debord. Instead, he grumbles away like an out-of-touch dad who doesn't like his daughter's taste in music.

This does not mean, however, that he is without a point. Vargas Llosa is right that intellectuals have needed to become showmen (witness Germaine Greer), and that committed engagement has been displaced by distraction. His argument throughout is that entertainment has replaced depth: "Culture is entertainment and what is not entertaining is not culture."

Journalists and politicians are today's entertainers and even education is packaged as entertainment (the term, thankfully not known by Vargas Llosa, is actually "edutainment").

We are mired in ephemera: while Tolstoy wrote to "defeat death" and "to open people's eyes", Brazilian soap operas and Bollywood movies "do not exist any longer than their performance". Tolstoy faced up to the void, but Brazilian soaps avert their gaze from the harsh realities. The comparison is ridiculous. For Vargas Llosa, Shakira is a failed version of Thomas Mann.

Culture used to mean high culture but today we refer to pop culture, media culture, black culture, youth culture. You can't throw a stone without hitting someone's special culture. We even, Vargas Llosa notes, talk about "paedophile culture". Culture is no longer something to rejuvenate and challenge the mind but "a pleasant way of spending time", and all cultures have the same value - the philosophy of Kant is considered equal to the posterior of Kim Kardashian.

Religion gave birth to culture but the paedophile culture at the core of the Catholic church has corroded the institution, while Islamic fanatics are against the culture of free speech. A cultured society needs to be secular, but here Vargas Llosa gets into knots because he also argues that for a society to be truly free, there needs to be "an intense spiritual life".

We once had critics,



Faces of culture: clockwise from above, Chris Ofili's *Afro Sunrise* at Tate

but now it is Oprah Winfrey who makes or breaks a book. And what happened to the cinema icons? For Vargas Llosa - rather touchingly - we are in the age of Woody Allen, who is "to David Lean or Orson Welles what Andy Warhol is to Gauguin". Vargas Llosa weakens his argument by being

so often out of date: does anyone still go to Woody Allen films? Contemporary art,

he despairs, is about conning the viewer and he refers with wearying inevitability to Damien Hirst's shark and Chris Ofili's use of elephant dung (both phenomena of the 1990s) as though nothing else had happened in the art world.

The culture pages of newspapers have been taken over by food, fashion and lifestyle (none of which, according to Vargas Llosa, constitute culture). Politics, now also entertainment, has become as "banal" as literature, film and art; politicians are more concerned with whitening their teeth than standing by their promises. WikiLeaks has







Britain, T S Eliot and Colombian singer Shakira

done no more than reveal the trivia of political life: Assange is not a “great freedom fighter” but a “successful entertainer”. The excitement over Carla Bruni’s presence in the Elysée Palace proved that even the sophisticated French have lost their intellectual integrity and succumbed to the “universally prevailing frivolity”.

The f-word is repeated like a mantra. Everything that Vargas Llosa dislikes is denounced as “frivolous”, and frivolity is equivalent to banality, bad taste, gossip, superficiality and ignorance. Our “frivolous approach to sex” means that the art of eroticism has been replaced by the “animality” of pornography. While eroticism is enriching, pornography is instinct without imagination.

Vargas Llosa is a fan of erotica, but much of what he calls erotic would be seen by others as pornographic. It was ever thus. He does provide one interesting fact: Spanish schoolchildren are given lessons in masturbation. The aim is to reduce unwanted and premature pregnancies, but the effect, says Vargas Llosa, will be to further trivialise sex, to dissociate it from passion and rid it of mystery.

Culture, it seems, is alive and kicking but not as we know it. This report of its death is greatly exaggerated.



**By Frances Wilson**

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# MUSIC TO SOOTHE THE SAVAGE BEAST

The world’s most powerful nations have failed to bring peace to the West Bank. One man is trying it with a viola

## Children of the Stone

by Sandy Tolan  
*Bloomsbury* (€25)



A group of young Palestinian musicians gather on a West Bank hilltop to play Mozart’s Sixth Symphony to a

passing Israeli train. As they play, they imagine music filling its carriages, carrying part of them down to their lost villages - and onwards to new worlds they dream of seeing.

Sandy Tolan’s first book, *The Lemon Tree*, gave balance to both sides of the Arab-Israeli narrative. His second is a much clearer indictment of Palestinian life under Israeli occupation, told through the lives of aspiring musicians. But *Children of the Stone* is far more than a one-sided lament and is itself a symphony of international locations, big ideas and human dramas.

Tolan describes a remarkable journey: Ramzi Aburedwan, stone-throwing poster child for the first intifada, grows to become a classical viola player founding music schools across the West Bank and playing with star Israeli conductor Daniel Barenboim, right. Ramzi’s story is woven into both the broader Palestinian struggle and the fraught effort by Barenboim and great Palestinian intellectual Edward Said to find common ground through artistic co-operation. Said and

Barenboim believed music could build bridges while politics raised barriers. Tolan strips this concept of sentimentality through visceral, fly-on-the-wall storytelling. How does a child learn an instrument where sheet music and strings can’t be found - where they must build their own music rooms stone by stone? At one point, Palestinian musicians desperate to reach their “co-existence” performance in Jerusalem pay a people-smuggler to help them scale the eight-metre Separation Barrier, throwing down timpani sticks and violin cases to waiting hands below.

Tolan is not blind to faults on both sides. In a dehumanising environment his young characters are defiantly human: they have hard-won triumphs and make self-defeating mistakes. They fall in love with the transformative power of music but they constantly question how to use that power: to build bridges or, as one of Ramzi’s pupils says, for “assertion ... and vengeance”.

There are no easy answers. Tolan shows a novelist’s preoccupation with empathy in portraying two conflicting worlds: music’s timeless idealism and occupation’s brutal realities. What emerges is a deeply moving parable of struggle and mastery - over an instrument, over painful injustice and ultimately over self.



**By Claire Hajaj**

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# MEALS ON HIGH HEELS

Surely the dinosaurs of *Jurassic World* would rather eat the stiletto-shod heroine than let her do so much running around in them



**Alice Hart-Davis**  
 @AliceHartDavis

From this column's perspective, the only thing wrong amid the drama and excitement of *Jurassic World* was the nude stiletto-heeled shoes worn by the heroine, which have now become as much of a talking point as the CGI.

That's because Bryce Dallas Howard as Claire, the operations manager at the Jurassic theme park, spends the first half of the film using them - and her hair, which is ironed into an immaculate bob - to assert herself as a traditionally uptight control-freak caricature of a boss-lady at the Jurassic theme park, and the second half using them to run full tilt - through the jungle, up and down steps, over surfaces slick with mud and water and blood. (Her hair suffers a bit and looks miles better for being a little ruffled and scrunched. The heels, miraculously, neither fall off, nor break, nor cause her major injury.)

"I did a lot of ankle exercises," Howard said, when asked how on Earth she managed this feat. "I mean, honestly I trained for running in heels as if I was in the Olympics."

Of course it's silly. Even the film acknowledges that.

When Howard tells Owen (Chris Pratt, the hero), that she's coming with him into the jungle to find her



**Uptight:** Howard goes with Pratt to face hybrid dinosaur Indominus rex. **Below:** Aquazzura's pointy flats

missing nephews, he scoffs: "You'll last just two minutes in there. Less in those ridiculous shoes." She replies by rolling up her sleeves and knotting her shirt around her waist - but keeps the shoes on.

Could this be because those stiletto spikes might prove a handy weapon in felling a genetically modified dinosaur? If only. The director, Colin Trevorrow, has said that Howard insisted on wearing those heels, and that "surrendering the heels felt like surrendering the femininity of the character even though women are ... I don't want to say forced to wear heels - but you're expected to wear heels in certain environments."

Hmph. Surely, how much more fascinating would it have been to give her character the task of asserting her dominance through other means than spiky heels? What she should have worn, of course, is flats. These might not have the connotations of boardroom clout that high heels

traditionally convey, but they are utterly on-trend and the fashion-pack have embraced them wholeheartedly. A pair of Aquazzura's pointy flats would have been perfect and, thanks to their lace-up fronts, they would have stayed securely in place, too.

Fashionistas may be striding off confidently in this direction but for much of the world high heels are still deemed necessary for womanly glamour - viz the contretemps when ticket-holding guests at this year's Cannes film festival were turned away from the Todd Haynes film

*Carol* because of their choice of footwear ("rhinestone flats", ie sparkly, but nonetheless flat, evening shoes).

So is Howard letting down the sisterhood? Technically, yes, but the odd thing is, if you've seen the film, you really can't accuse her of that.

When she runs, she really runs. And when you sprint, you are up on your toes, so maybe those spiky heels are just an irrelevance, like outdated attitudes. Perhaps Howard was right to insist on keeping the heels. Certainly, no one is going to forget them.

## What happens when you run in heels?

"Running around in high heels is not advisable," says John Brewer, Professor of Applied Sport Science at St Mary's University, London. "It is just asking for an injury. It puts extra pressure on the small metatarsal bones in the foot which are then at a high risk of fracture, and the pressure on

the toes could result in a bunion. Finally, the Achilles tendon is placed into an unnaturally short position and when the foot is finally straightened and the tendon is stretched, it may tear or rupture. Having said that, a foot injury is probably preferable to being eaten by a dinosaur."



# A TOUGH PROPHET FOR OUR TIMES

The poetry of WB Yeats, born 150 years ago, faces up to fanaticism and, as Yeats himself fell in love with a fanatic, tries to understand and go beyond it



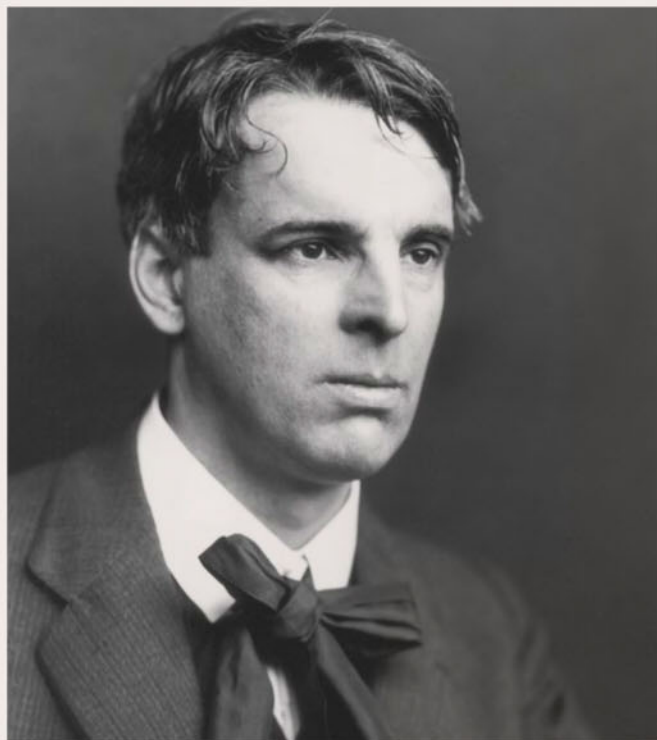
**Harry Eyres**

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WB Yeats at 150 somehow seems more alive than any other English-speaking poet of the last two centuries. He is no member of the Dead Poets' Society; his pulse is stronger than that of many poets whose hearts are still beating.

A part of this can be attributed to Yeats's Irish identity - to his role in laying the cultural foundations for a new nation. Not many poets have helped to found what are in effect national theatres (the Abbey Theatre in Dublin) or served as senators (here Pablo Neruda comes to mind). Yeats is certainly one of the most important figures in Irish cultural history - and a member of one of Ireland's most distinguished artistic families: his brother Jack Yeats holds a comparable position in Irish painting. But he is much more than that.

Yeats is alive mainly because so many of his lines seem extraordinarily prescient and as pertinent to our times as to his. The prophetic verses of *The Second Coming* - "Things fall apart, the centre cannot hold/ Mere anarchy is loosed upon the world" - have been invoked time and again but do not lose their power. Trying to frame a response to the imminent destruction by Islamic State of the ancient city of Palmyra in Syria, I recalled the opening lines of one of Yeats's darkest meditations, 1919, written as Ireland was tearing itself apart: "Many ingenious lovely things



**Laying the cultural foundations of a new nation: W B Yeats in 1911**

are gone/That seemed sheer miracle to the multitude."

Yeats died just before the catastrophe of the Second World War but his poetry seems able to encompass and face up to the most destructive century in human memory. Its way of doing so is idiosyncratic in the extreme, relying more on Irish and Greek myth, mystical and antinomian texts by Plotinus, Blake, Swedenborg, Nietzsche and Madame Blavatsky than on the approved masters of 19th- and 20th-century scientific,



**In Yeats the personal and political always intertwine at the most visceral levels**

political and economic thought. Yeats turned himself from a wistful romantic into a tough-minded prophet - a unique metamorphosis at least in poetic history that makes him the bridge between two centuries or between late romanticism and modernism.

This shift was partly achieved at the purely poetic levels of rhetoric, prosody and imagery: Yeats made his language harder-edged and his rhythms and sound-effects more abrupt, less dreamy. But it also involved a deep personal transformation. He moved from a private introverted world of unrequited love expressed in Celtic Twilight imagery into full engagement with the public and political world of civil war, nation-building and international convulsion. But in Yeats the personal and

political always intertwine at the most visceral levels.

One of his most profound and pertinent themes is his attempt to understand and go beyond fanaticism. He had to understand fanaticism because he fell hopelessly in love with a fanatic, the militant Republican zealot Maud Gonne, who later married one of the leaders of the 1916 Easter Uprising. He even recognised his own "fanatic heart". In his great poem *Easter 1916* Yeats pays ambivalent tribute to those who took part in the armed Republican insurrection (15 of the leaders were executed by the British): he wrote that "a terrible beauty is born" but at the same time he questioned their intransigence: "Too long a sacrifice/Can make a stone of the heart."

Yeats worried about effects of ideology and theory on the human heart, its capacity for empathy and joy. He saw this danger in Ireland - "Great hatred, little room/Maimed us at the start" - but his insight is equally relevant to the conflicts of the 20th and 21st centuries.

Above all Yeats asked these questions: How do we cope with the end of civilisation - or at least with the destruction that accompanies the end of one epoch and the start of another? At the same time how do we confront our own inevitable ageing, decline and death? Yeats's response in his unbuttoned, sometimes shocking late poems has thrilling, defiant energy. "You think it horrible that lust and rage/Should dance attendance upon my old age?... What else have I to spur me into song?" That is why he is still so alive so long after he died, still seeking rejuvenation, in the south of France in that fateful summer of 1939.

# MY WEEKEND: FRANÇOIS TAJAN

The co-chairman of auction house Artcurial says that 'every Saturday I am like a tourist who just discovered the fantastic beauty of Paris'

## Friday evening

Friday evening is strictly family time. We'll have dinner, sometimes at home, but I prefer to go to restaurants. There are a few nice ones not far from where I live in the 7th arrondissement of Paris. I work on La Rive Droite but I prefer to live on La Rive Gauche. I also like to cook, especially pasta. My grandmother was half-Italian so I used to eat a lot of it and I'm quite good with it now. My signature dish is pasta with tuna, pepper, anchovy, olive, lemon and mint. The mint is very important.

## Saturday morning

I'll have a cup of coffee and some orange juice quite early, then I'll walk for about an hour on the Quai d'Orsay. It's nice because you go under all of Paris's bridges and the Louvre is just in front of you. Every Saturday I'm like a tourist who just discovered the fantastic beauty of Paris. It's important to have this personal, individual time to myself.

## Saturday afternoon

I might visit an exhibition at La Maison Rouge. It's quite small, I think it was an old factory but it has been revived to host contemporary art exhibitions. I have been an art fan since I was 17, when my father was an



**Memorabilia:** Tajan on a section of the Eiffel Tower's original staircase

auctioneer, and I used to collect ceramics and glass.

## Saturday evening

I like to go to rock concerts. I used to play drums for 10 years, just for fun, when I was a teenager. I still try to play with my old bandmates now and again. I like new wave music. I am 53 so bands like New Order, Simple Minds, Siouxsie and the Banshees - this is my generation. When they are on stage in Paris I will always try to see them. I

saw The Sisters of Mercy not so long ago. It was great.

## Sunday morning

Sometimes I go to Artcurial, to organise upcoming exhibitions and to spend a few hours seeing clients. There is a very nice bookshop there so I will browse new books on contemporary art, rock'n'roll and design. It's one of the best bookshops in Paris. Then I might come home with a book, and spend an hour or two reading.

## Curriculum vitae

François chose a career in auctioneering in 1990 by joining the family auction firm Tajan SA. He moved to Artcurial 15 years later and has since auctioned more than 80,000 works as well as leading auctions for several humanitarian causes.

JOEL SAGET/GETTY

## Sunday afternoon

About once a month, I'll go to Monte Carlo, because my father is from there. We organise auctions, and I have quite a lot of friends and clients there. I'll stay at the Hôtel Hermitage, where we hold an auction every summer - for things like jewellery, watches and Hermès vintage. I like Monte Carlo very much. The weather is nice, it is quiet, the people are polite, the sea sparkles. I spent a lot of time with my grandparents there when I was young. It's like an old Italian village but it's also completely international.

Other than that, I might watch a football match with my two boys - one is 25, one is 11. I'm a Monaco fan, so I'll try to see their matches. Unfortunately, my sons support Paris Saint-Germain, but that's life.

*As told to Felicity Capon*

## NEWS WEEKS PAST / 14 JULY 1969

### A monarch for the Moon age

The month that promised to bring the first landing of men on the Moon began, no less improbably, with stately feudal pomp. Yet, for that brief instant, the unique British genius for pageantry made monarchists of a Moon-struck world. As half a

billion people around the globe watched on television, Charles Philip Arthur George Windsor, 20, knelt on a slab of Welsh slate last week, placed his hands between those of his mother, Queen Elizabeth II, and stoutly swore an ancient oath of fealty: "I Charles, Prince of Wales, do



become your liege man of life and limb and of earthly worship, and faith and trust I will bear unto you to live and die against all manner of folks." These archaic words were uttered with forceful conviction by a young man who, in a sense, had been rehearsing them all his life.





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